Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-011
Thursday
16 January 1992

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FBIS-SOV-92-011 *16 January 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Gorbachev Reflects on CIS, Yeltsin, Reforms *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 24 Dec]* 1
Begins First Working Day *[Moscow TV]* 5
Gorbachev, Kohl Agree To Maintain Contacts *[INTERFAX]* 5
Shevardnadze on SFRY, Yeltsin Reforms *[Vienna TV]* 5
Potential for Nuclear 'Brain Drain' Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 6
West Said 'Worried' *[Moscow TV]* 7
Kalugin Says 'No Soviet Spies' Left in U.S. *[TASS]* 8
Ex-KGB Colonel 'Demolished' POW Story *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 8
IZVESTIYA Reports Algerian Tensions *[16 Jan]* 9
CIS Spokesman on Soviet Troops, Poland *[TASS]* 9
PRC Vice Minister on 'Successful' CIS Trip *[TASS]* 10

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Commonwealth

Heads of Member States Meeting in Moscow 16 Jan 11
Agenda Not Yet Disclosed *[TASS]* 11
Meeting Not 'Extraordinary' *[Radio Rossii]* 11
Article Assesses Role of Commonwealth, Peace *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 11

Military

Pyankov Characterizes Results of Fleet Talks 13
Talks To End 17 Jan *[Russian TV]* 13
Ukraine 'On Unequal Footing' *[INTERFAX]* 13
Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Alleged Arms Sales *[TASS]* 13
Future of Air Force Addressed by Commander *[Moscow TV]* 13
Role of CIS Strategic Forces Examined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 14
All-Army Conference To Take Place 16 Jan 15
Problems Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 15
Diversity of Opinion 'Enormous' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 15 Jan]* 17
Yeltsin May Speak *[INTERFAX]* 17
Viability of Separate Armed Forces Idea Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Jan]* 18
Concern for Future Still Preoccupies Servicemen 20
Airborne Troops Meet *[TASS]* 20
Air Defense Officers Assemble *[TASS]* 20
Association Adopts Appeal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Jan]* 21

Media

National News Agencies Discuss United Space 21
14 Representatives Attend *[TASS]* 21
Projects, Data Bank Envisioned *[TASS]* 21
Ignatenko Addresses Meeting *[TASS]* 21

Economic & Social

'People Want Intelligent, Honest Patriots' *[PRAVDA 14 Jan]* 21
'Commonwealth of Unions of Writers' Established *[Moscow Radio]* 24

Agriculture

Goskomstat Says 155 Tonnes of Grain Harvested *[INTERFAX]* 24

RUSSIA

International Affairs

Kozyrev Makes Official Visit to Bonn 25
Meets Von Weizsaecker *[TASS]* 25
Holds Talks With Genscher *[TASS]* 25
News Conference Held *[TASS]* 25
Khasbulatov Writes to Georgian Leaders *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 15 Jan]* 26
Russia Sends Rubles to Georgia To Pay Wages *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 26
Magadan Oblast Home to Ukrainian Community *[Kiev International]* 27
Lithuanian Treaty Said to Protect Russians *[BALTFAX]* 27
Official Reviews Outcome of Talks With PRC *[Moscow Radio]* 27
Kolokolov Meets With Algerian Ambassador *[TASS]* 28

Federation Affairs

Leadership Split Over Economic Reform Process *[TASS]* 28
Split Considered 'Diversionary Tactic' *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 29
Leaders Criticized as 'Populist Renegades' *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 29
Party Support, Opposition to Yeltsin Reported *[TASS]* 30
Right Offers Yeltsin 'Serious Competition' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 31
People's Party Demands Government Resignation *[TASS]* 32
CIS 'Nothing but Fiction' *[INTERFAX]* 32
Christian Democratic Movement's Credo Aired *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Jan]* 32
'New Russia' Alliance Leading Force by 1995 *[INTERFAX]* 34
Justice Ministry Registers 'Conservative Party' *[Radio Rossii]* 34
Burbulis Insists Government Enjoys Support *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 34
Procuracy Officially Charges Coup Defendants *[Moscow TV]* 35
Defense Holds News Conference *[TASS]* 35
Gorbachev Interrogation Demanded *[INTERFAX]* 36
KGB's Surveillance of Yeltsin, Others Noted *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 7 Jan]* 36
Alksnis Gives Details *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Jan]* 37
Yeltsin Defense Adviser Holds News Conference 37
Views Russian, CIS Armed Forces *[TASS]* 37
Solution May Take 2 Years *[INTERFAX]* 38
Nuclear Specialists Viewed *[Berlin ADN]* 38
Constitutional Court on Invalidation of Decree *[Russian TV]* 38
Shakray: 'Imperfect' Constitution *[INTERFAX]* 39
Intelligence Service Criticizes Security Merger *[INTERFAX]* 39
Future of Constitutional Court Viewed *[Russian TV]* 39
Trade Unionists Picket Government Building *[TASS]* 39
Protests To Continue 17 Jan *[TASS]* 40
Consider Gaydar 'Liability' *[Radio Rossii]* 40
Yeltsin Decree on Formation of Food Stocks *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Jan]* 40
Rutskoy To Return to Work Following Treatment *[TASS]* 41

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin Addresses 16 Jan Parliament Session *[Russian TV]* 41
Agenda for 16 Jan Sesion Viewed *[Moscow Radio]* 45
Khasbulatov Explains Call for Resignation *[Moscow TV]* 45
Khasbulatov Criticisms 'Specifically Timed' *[Russian TV]* 45
Deputies Critical of Khasbulatov Statements *[TASS]* 46
Democratic Russia Bloc Gives News Conference *[Radio Rossii]* 46
Policy of Reforms 'Has No Alternative' *[Radio Rossii]* 46
Khasbulatov Criticizes Tax Policy, Budget *[TASS]* 46

Khasbulatov, Shumeyko Meet Miners' Committee *[INTERFAX]* 47
Khasbulatov Appeals Against Strike *[Russian TV]* 47
Shumeyko Notes Growth in Social Tension *[TASS]* 47
Protests, Riot Potential Noted *[INTERFAX]* 48
'Special Groups' Hold Conference on Reform *[INTERFAX]* 48
'Operations Group' Reveals 'Worrying Trends' *[PRAVDA 10 Jan]* 48

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Arrives in St. Petersburg; Full Agenda 49
Comments on 'Extortionate Prices' *[Moscow Radio]* 49
Speaks in Victory Square *[INTERFAX]* 49
Praises 'Team Spirit' *[INTERFAX]* 50
Meets Dockers *[Russian TV]* 50
Converses With Leadership *[Moscow Radio]* 50
Outline of Visit Results *[TASS]* 50
Repeats Call for Patience *[Moscow International]* 51
Visit Observed, Assessed *[TRUD 16 Jan]* 51
St. Petersburg Polled on Yeltsin Policies *[INTERFAX]* 52
Polarization of Opinion Cited in St. Petersburg *[Russian TV]* 52
Journalists Barred From Yeltsin Meeting *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Jan]* 52
Gamsakhurdia Arrival in Chechen Not Confirmed *[TASS]* 53
Overthrow 'Illegal' *[TASS]* 53
Army Hands Over Facility to Chechen Guards *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 53

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Fokin Holds Talks, Signs Agreement in Athens *[TASS]* 54
Nuclear Sales Denied *[TASS]* 54
Concludes Visit *[TASS]* 54
Swedish Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit *[Kiev International]* 54
$28 Million Contributed to International Groups *[Kiev Radio]* 54

National Affairs

President Gives Address on Economics, Fleet *[Kiev Radio]* 55
Comments on Russian 'Arrogance' *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 55
Further on Address *[PRAVDA 16 Jan]* 56
Kravchuk Comments on Commonwealth Future *[TASS]* 57
Kravchuk Announces 'Main' Economics Advisor *[Russian TV]* 57
Government Asked To Resign Over Economy *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 57
National Bank Official on New Currency *[Kiev Radio]* 57
Impact of Coupons Introduction 10 Jan Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 58
Problems Noted *[Radio Rossii]* 58
Cabinet Adopts Measures on Dairy Products *[IZVESTIYA 13 Jan]* 59
Cabinet Adopts Resolution on Ports, Transport *[Kiev Radio]* 59
Ministry Says 'No Nuclear Weapons' by 1 Jul *[Kiev International]* 59
People's Council Urges Commanders' Resignation *[TASS]* 59
Crimea Issues Statement on Black Sea Fleet *[Kiev Radio]* 59
Cabinet Allocates R350 Million to Fleet *[Kiev International]* 60
Odessa Troops Take Oath of Allegiance *[TASS]* 60
Military Pilots Consider Pledge of Allegiance *[INTERFAX]* 60
Moscow Servicemen Want To Serve in Forces *[INTERFAX]* 60
News Conference Held on Defense Conversion *[Kiev International]* 60
Further on Shipbuilding Conversion *[Kiev Radio]* 60

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Shushkevich, Landsbergis Discuss Cooperation *[Radio Rossii]* 62
United Democratic Party Supports Presidency *[INTERFAX]* 62
Popular Front Calls for Vote of Confidence *[INTERFAX]* 62
Protocol Ratified on Civil, Political Rights *[TASS]* 62
Kostenko Appointed Acting Defense Minister *[INTERFAX]* 63
Wage Tax of 18% Imposed for Chernobyl Expenses *[TASS]* 63
Republic Allocates Currency Production Funds *[Radio Rossii]* 63
Officers Stationed Outside Republic To Return *[TASS]* 63
Republic To Import 2 Million Tonnes of Grain *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 63

Moldova

Snegur Tells Executives To Show Initiative *[TASS]* 63
Meets With Military *[Moscow Radio]* 64
Sworn In at Solemn Session *[INTERFAX]* 64
Savings Bank Transformed to Moldovan Bank *[Kishinev Radio]* 64
To Switch to Coupons When Rubles Run Out *[AFP]* 65
Price Liberalization 'Only First Step' *[TASS]* 65
Tougher Measures Sought Against Cooperatives *[IZVESTIYA 13 Jan]* 65
Order Issued To Improve Market Situation *[Kishinev Radio]* 65
Interior Minister Meets Ukrainian Counterpart *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 66
Cooperation Treaty Signed With Azerbaijan *[Moscow Radio]* 66
Resolution Adopted on Temporary Consular Posts *[Kishinev Radio]* 66
New Newspaper Published by Moldovan Russians *[Radio Rossii]* 66
Moscow TV Programs Disrupted for Residents *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 66

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Actions Related to Price Liberalization Viewed 68
Food Prices Set *[POSTFACTUM]* 68
'Social Explosion' Warned *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 68
Socialist Party Statement *[TASS]* 68
Free Economic Zones Formed *[IZVESTIYA 14 Jan]* 68
Nazabayev Preparing Decree on Privatization *[INTERFAX]* 68
President Calls on Public To Support Reform *[INTERFAX]* 69
Seminar on Foreign Economic Activity Held 69
Nazarbayev Attends *[INTERFAX]* 69
'Necessary To Integrate' Market *[TASS]* 69
Cabinet Reviews Current Socioeconomic Status *[Moscow Radio]* 69
UN Environmental Program Document Signed *[TASS]* 70
Nazarbayev Meets U.S. Deputy Secretary of State *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 70
Sources Deny 1967 Presence of U.S. POW *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 70
Ministry Remarks on Official Sister's Murder *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 70
Establishment of National Guard Reported *[Baku Radio]* 70
Republic Said Owner of 'Nuclear Legacy' *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Jan]* 70
Becoming Muslim Leader; Has 'Strong Influence' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Jan]* 71
New Independent Islamic Newspaper Published *[Moscow Radio]* 72

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Meets With Shaposhnikov *[INTERFAX]* 72
U.S. To Help Privatize Agriculture *[INTERFAX]* 73

Tajikistan

Nabiyev Meets With Commonwealth's Shaposhnikov *[INTERFAX]* 73
Shaposhnikov Expresses 'Satisfaction' *[TASS]* 73
1-Man Command Supported *[POSTFACTUM]* 73
Deputies Urge Restoral of Radio Rossii Service *[Moscow Radio]* 74
First Gold Consignment Arrives at Bank *[ROSSISKAYA GAZETA 16 Jan]* 74

Turkmenia

Niyazov, Shaposhnikov Discuss Military Policy *[Radio Rossii]* 74
Shaposhnikov on Defense Ministry *[INTERFAX]* 75
Agree on 'Many' Positions *[TASS]* 75

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Speculation on Gamsakhurdia Location Continues *[Radio Rossii]* 76
Reportedly Still in Sukhumi *[Moscow Radio]* 76
Armenian Mediation in Georgia Conflict Viewed *[TASS]* 76
Opposition Leader Evaluates Events in Georgia *[INTERFAX]* 76
Russian Price Control To Have 'Painful Impact' *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 76

Azerbaijan

'Armenian Guerrillas' Said Destroying Karabakh *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 77
Reportedly Prepared To Use Missiles *[INTERFAX]* 77
Union Army Hardware, Arms Belong to Republic *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Jan]* 77
Republic, Military Leaders View Army's Future *[Baku Radio]* 77
Republic To Be Admitted to IMF *[INTERFAX]* 78

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Declares Start of 'Civil War' *[TASS]* 78
Abkhasian Leader Denies Meeting *[TASS]* 78
Supporters Held Rallies in Zugdidi *[Tblilisi Radio]* 78
Returns to Tbilisi With Armed Support *[Hamburg DPA]* 78
Sigua Government Adopts Resolutions *[Tbilisi Radio]* 78
Sigua Analyzes Situation *[TASS]* 79
More on Sigua Reaction *[POSTFACTUM]* 80
Supreme Council Meets in 'Nervous Atmosphere' *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 80
Ministry Comments on Domestic, Foreign Policy *[POSTFACTUM]* 81
S. Ossetia To Hold Independence Referendum *[INTERFAX]* 81
Energy Situation 'Worsening' *[Moscow TV]* 81
Georgian Heiress on Possible Return to Throne *[Budapest NEPSZAVA 10 Jan]* 81

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Treaty With Russia, Kozyrev Trip Reviewed *[BALTFAX]* 83
Economy Minister Leimann Resigns *[BALTFAX]* 83
'Critical' Energy Situation Looms in Republic *[TASS]* 83

Lithuania

Lithuanians To Train at German Command Academy *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Jan]* 83
Defense Minister Ends Germany, Belgium Visit *[BALTFAX]* 84
Israeli Ambassador Visits, Ties Established *[Vilnius Radio]* 84
Further Katkus Comment on Polish Relations *[Vilnius Radio]* 84

Council Awards Yeltsin Commemorative Medal *[TASS]* 85
Kaliningrad Region Border Issues Negotiated *[BALTFAX]* 86
City Wants To Charge Soviet Troops Dollars *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 86
Democratic Labor Party Official Urges Agreement *[TIESA 24 Dec]* 86
Heat, Natural Gas Prices 'Quadrupled' *[PRAVDA 14 Jan]* 87
Government Reviews Power Supply Reductions *[Vilnius International]* 87

Gorbachev Reflects on CIS, Yeltsin, Reforms

924C0039A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President M.S. Gorbachev by E. Kotlyar in the Kremlin on 21 December 1991: "M.S. Gorbachev: I have a great interest in the complete success of the processes I initiated: Apparently the Farewell Interview of the USSR President with a MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Correspondent"]

[Text] **It took place on 21 December 1991. The chimes on the Kremlin clock rang two past noon. At that time in remote Alma-Ata the fate of the Soviet Union and its president, the first Soviet leader whose world recognition was expressed in his being awarded the Nobel Prize, was being decided. In the capital of Kazakhstan the leaders of the newborn states were preparing to assume the burden of responsibility for the subsequent destiny of the peoples in this immense living space where during the time of Gorbachev's perestroyka there had been chaos and excess. Now the time had come to sum up the results of the reforms which had inspired such hopes and, alas, led to such disenchantment. The fate of their author largely follows Khrushchev's tragic path. Perhaps in this Eurasian sixth of the world, which has absorbed diversity and ethnic groups of various stripes, united by a common and deformed economy, fate will hover over everyone who has the courage to declare to the people as they listen mistrustfully that he has just learned of their emergence from the dense forest of the adversity of a dark life into radiant well-being.**

God forbid that the history of this country has once again prepared for the Alma-Ata leaders a fate like that of Gorkiy's Danko! The course they have proclaimed may be the same one to which Gorbachev aspired when projecting the Novo-Ogarevo future for the Union. In any case the beginning inspires hope. It was a good sign when B.N. Yeltsin's statement to the effect that in this country, as in a normal civilized state, the name of the former leader would never be anathematized was heard on evening televisi...

But still our questions remain with us. Who can answer them today? We decided to turn to M.S. Gorbachev, who has accumulated valuable experience as a leader.

The president, perhaps during the last hours of his time in the Kremlin, received us hospitably. If one could observe a nervous agitation among his personal assistants, Mikhail Sergeyevich himself looked cheerful and confident. Without paying attention to the television journalists who with the eyes of their cameras were greedily taking in the final moments of the waning 74-year-old epoch of a great power, which had delighted and terrorized mankind so many times, the president answered our questions in detail, as though summing up the results not only of the failures of perestroyka but also of the defective idea of the old Union which he did not succeed in restructuring....

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, how do you envision the future of the Commonwealth? B.N. Yeltsin had just assured Mr. Baker that there would be no nuclear weapons in Russia when Nursultan Nazarbayev declared that the nuclear potential would be preserved in Kazakhstan. Is this not a sign of further antagonisms among the independent states in other issues as well, say, economic policy and so forth?

[Gorbachev] You are asking a most painful question, which has tormented me in recent years. When we were going through the processes of sovereignization we immediately began to try to clarify whose law is senior in the hierarchy of power: that of the center or that of the republic. There began to be violations of executive functions, which quickly brought about paralysis of power and a collapse of the economy. I felt that we were moving toward disaster. Any decision of the center met with objections from the republics: Do not interfere, you are violating our sovereignty. Of course, it was clear: The old power structures had outlived their time. They were in need of radical updating—new legislation, new state institutions, a determination in a different system of interactions of the positions of the center and republics, and new economic ties built on a principally new basis. Yes, the country had to change. But in any case it could survive only if it were unified—and within its framework it would be quite possible for independent states to exist on the basis of the former republics with a common center coordinating all of their actions. That is how I understand the guarantee against what you asked me about.

But now different processes are in motion. The Commonwealth of Independent States has arisen without a center. What could it be like? It is difficult to understand this from the Minsk agreement. It is too schematic and cerebral. But this is not enough to provide for a vital interaction of all equal members of the Commonwealth. We need common institutions that are capable of realizing state principles and we need constitutional succession from the former Union. Otherwise the economic mechanism will not work. That is not all. Much that is unforeseen could occur if they do not work out in detail all the complex aspects of the new relations among the members of the Commonwealth. This is what I wrote about in my appeal to the leaders who convened in Alma-Ata.

[Kotlyar] Does the agreement on the Commonwealth not spark nationalism with the usual departure of refugees? And what awaits the multinational Russia in this case?

[Gorbachev] I aiso spoke about that in my appeal to the leaders who gathered in Alma-Ata. I think the possibility of many "Karabakhs" could arise before us. And again everything will depend on which constitutional norms are put to work in the countries of the Commonwealth.

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, let us fantasize a little. Let us assume that Ukraine has received a loan sufficient to provide for convertibility of its carbovanets. In this

case, will it still have its same commitments to the other members of the Commonwealth?

[Gorbachev] Let no one have any illusions about this. It is possible to emerge from the crisis that has developed and provide the proper tempo for the economy only through joint efforts. That is the way we have developed historically. Unfortunately, there have already been attempts to constrain the unified economic system, and what have we received as a result—decline of production, shutdown of enterprises, mass disturbances. This is not a path to destruction now. Even such powerful republics as Russia and Ukraine, if they were to try arrogantly, relying on their own wealth, to shrug off the burden of the economies of other regions, they would through their actions reinforce the already existing processes of disintegration and would bring about a final collapse of their national economy. This is an absolutely unrealistic prospect.

[Kotlyar] In one of your interviews you said that you agreed with 80 percent of what Yeltsin says. Where do you disagree?

[Gorbachev] I would forget about percentages; they are not of the essence! Everything Boris Nikolayevich says about the direction of the reforms coincides fully with my ideas. There is no doubt about the movement toward the market even among the most conservative representatives of various trends.

And if one is to speak about my position regarding this issue, it is fairly widely known. Even at the preceding party congresses I insistently asserted: The road to the market is the only correct one for our society. B.N. Yeltsin and I have the same understanding of the advantage of market relations whereby the individual feels that he is an independent master in the production process and in the disposal of the products of his own labor and in the competition for the right to produce better and earn more. But as for the rates and methods of the transformation of our economy into a market and the sequence of the steps toward the private mode of production—here I have my own opinion.

Russia is the locomotive of the reforms, which indeed must put into motion the entire economic chain of the republic economies. But we can be successful only if we all work together. Russia alone, regardless of how great its potential may be, cannot cope with the task. Moreover, the market is not simply a goal in itself. It must work for the good of mankind. To do this, it is necessary to put in motion a whole system of measures, and the main one among them is to provide incentive for the producer. If the producer is not motivated to do his work, there will be no commodities. What kind of market is this? Just imagine what would happen to free prices under conditions of declining production! Prices would leap extraordinarily high.

Knowing about the forthcoming price increases, people must have a clear idea of the protective mechanisms which society guarantees them. Take, say, a person working in the area of production and give him the opportunity to earn as much as he needs to live in this situation. Those who depend on the state budget—teachers, doctors, students, pensioners, and other categories of citizens—need timely measures so they will accept the changing price level with equilibrium. Otherwise people could end up simply defenseless in the face of the growing cost of living.

Of course, it is necessary to adopt an antimonopoly law immediately. For it is a peculiarity of our economy that two or three enterprises of some kind are capable of dictating their conditions to the entire country, forgetting about the interests of the simple person. In my discussion with Boris Nikolayevich I drew his attention to this sequence of steps in the direction of the market.

[Kotlyar] Many people think that you made mistakes at the very beginning of perestroyka. Perhaps you should not have begun with political transformations but put in motion what you call the locomotive of production. Then you might have avoided all of today's difficulties. Many people still recall how after Stalin's death, in Malenkov's day, something similar happened with the redistribution of investments between groups "A" and "B" and the transfer of additional land to the kolkhoz workers. The stores were filled fairly quickly at that time—in a year or a year and a half. Perhaps now is the time to develop production of small agricultural machines, to hold exhibits of them in the regions, and to motivate peasants to work the land individually, and after that we could privatize first small-scale cottage production and then larger production, and finally begin to reconstruct the political superstructure?

[Gorbachev] Well, that is an old argument. It developed into a large-scale discussion even before the 28th Congress. At that time I was accused of undermining the goals of perestroyka. Incidentally, your newspaper made similar reproaches at the time. I do not agree with those conclusions, and here is why. There is much that is reasonable in the way the question is posed. I held the same position at first. Do you remember where it all began? We created programs for stimulating the light and food industries, allotting about 75 billion rubles [R] for this, and we included military enterprises here too. The first models had already begun to appear in the exhibits. With the help of investments, and especially financial incentives, we tried to activate the development of agriculture. This sector quietly began to stand out: Of the 5,000 kolkhozes, 4,000 began to produce a profit.

But here everything depended on machine building. The base industry was oriented toward old technology. Expenditures on the production of gas, oil, and cement were excessively high. We lost our country in the seventies. We rejoiced in the fact that capitalism was decaying and everything was all right in our country. But in fact during this period we let pass the time necessary for structural transformations and the introduction of high technologies. And what happened was that we did not

have the machine building necessary for real development of rural areas and group "B." Technological purchases comprised 40 percent of the new technical equipment for chemistry since this included fertilizers, and chemical fibers, and construction materials. We tried to develop domestic machine building, particularly electronic. We almost doubled expenditures and...we did not earn anything.

The system had decayed to such an extent that it became an impediment on the path to everything new. At that time they tried at VAZ and the Sumy plant to introduce new management experience first and then they extended it to five ministries. It turned out that the selective method did not justify itself; it had to be spread to the entire national economy. When adopting new laws and reforming the economy, we repeated all the mistakes of our predecessors. The time for individual reforms had passed. It became clear that it was necessary to move toward the market. We had to brace ourselves to declare at the top of our voice that the old system had to be replaced.

After the crucial January plenum the party apparatus got a sense of its own danger. Democratic reforms became vitally necessary to society and at the same time they presented a threat to the party bosses who had illegally seized power from the people. Who gave the party this right—to control the country? Who suppressed initiative and the creative principle and implanted the psychology of wage-leveling in the people? In order to unfetter mankind and release them for free actions, radical transformations were needed—political and economic. Unfortunately, during the process of democratic reforms we made mistakes, the processes got out of control, separatism promoted political destabilization in the national regions, and this had a severe effect on our affairs.

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, one of the riddles of the time is your principle of personal selection of personnel. After all, you yourself called all your opponents into the large political arena. How do you explain this choice of "allies"?

[Gorbachev] The riddle is simple. I am in favor of having the political process prevail in everything—free choice and exchange and pluralism of opinions. Previously we were all caught up in a web of lies. We all lied to one another, acting like we were overjoyed, we were hypocritical, determining the moral-political image of each individual, we joyfully voted for a single solution...but then the wind of democratic changes started blowing and the citizens' consciousness awakened with it. Various trends appeared in politics and individual viewpoints began to form. I am attracted by a worthy opponent if he has also mastered the art of politics. What was worse was the practice of political monopoly which led our society to stagnation. We saw this from the example of Moscow during the period of Grishin and Promyslov's rule, and this phenomenon was also encountered in Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Yes, it was wherever you looked! I always try to put myself in my opponent's shoes, and if there is something I can learn from him I am glad to do so. Moreover, the democratic diversity showed who was who. We saw each other's faces as they were. I personally am disposed to sit down at one table and cooperate with representatives of various parties except, of course, those who openly advocate the reactionary path.

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, why did you not take preventive measures when you received the warning through Bessmertnykh from Secretary of State Baker about the putsch that was in the works and instead assure President Bush that everything was all right here?

[Gorbachev] This report was nothing new to me. Was it not clear how the latest party forums had been going when they were constantly proclaiming: "Down with Gorbachev!" And the last plenum where 32 secretaries drew up a collective protest against the general secretary? As power moved from the party to the people the resistance became stronger. My task was to hold back this process until such a time as the party ceased to be a threat and completely opened up the road to democracy. Because when the State Committee for the State of Emergency presented their demands to me in Foros, I responded to them that they had not brought me anything new. I had left Moscow two weeks earlier with the same thing. I am in favor as before, I told them, of signing the Novo-Ogarevo agreement on interaction among the republics and in favor of party reform, for which a congress had been scheduled for November, and in favor of the implementation of an anticrisis reform in the economy. You do not agree? Well, let us be judged by the people, the session, and finally the congress. The democratic institutions for this exist. No, if they had a head on their shoulders they would probably have thought about all that beforehand. Here is where I really made a mistake—I could not anticipate that they would be so stupid....

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you were the first to open the door to really bold and radical reforms, and your name will be on the honor roll of great people of Russia. This makes it even more distressing that it is frequently used for bad purposes. Now it is possible that we will have "rebellions of hungry people waiting in line," and perhaps you will have to take steps to restore historical justice with respect to Gorbachev.

[Gorbachev] Now is not the time to mobilize the press in defense of my name. I do not reproach people—they have nothing to do with this. Life is hard, there is a shortage of food, a threat of unemployment, endless waiting lines—all this evokes hostility and hence unpleasant words are directed against Gorbachev and those who are with him. I am convinced that the people understand that the country has selected the correct path, although it is strewn with plenty of large difficulties. It would be worse if nothing were done; that is when a social explosion could occur! Now there is nobody to blame—the people simply have to understand. They have before them a hard winter and summer and then

things will start to get easier, and after that it will be clear why all these sacrifices were made. It will be interesting to read the newspapers and listen to the radio and not only see entertaining programs but also take an interest in the life around us. I know that time will come some.

[Kotlyar] What will be your political activity if the retirement of the president becomes a reality.

[Gorbachev] If the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States is implemented, then my retirement will become real. But this does not mean that I will leave politics. I have a great interest in seeing the processes I initiated come to a successful conclusion. I am more interested than anybody else in their success and will do everything I can to contribute to that. If they assume a different character—my actions will change correspondingly. I have the means for this.

[Kotlyar] As we know, you are in charge of the receipt and distribution of the philanthropic aid from Western countries. Do you know that they are selling these gifts at many metro stations for R30 per can. Here is what happens: Unsuspectingly, the West is rendering aid to our commercial-criminal mafia. Perhaps this aid should be distributed to those who need it, as is done throughout the world, since it was free.

[Gorbachev] The first time we encountered this sort of thing was when aid came to the people of Armenia after the disaster. At that time it became clear that at a time when the world was responding from the heart to another's misfortune, in our country there were people without shame or conscience who were capable of deriving personal gain from another's sorrow. But now public organs have been created, which are called upon to supervise the distribution of philanthropic aid here. They have already begun to render assistance in this matter. Yesterday I was speaking with a commission of German doctors, and they assured me that they were satisfied with the way the medications they had brought were distributed—everything had ended up where it was supposed to. So the solution lies in the creation of public mechanisms for making sure that the aid ultimately gets to the right person. Regarding the disturbing cases of speculation about which you have told me, I am definitely interested in that and we will take measures.

[Kotlyar] Does it not seem to you to be a sign of obscurantism that in a country which has always had one of the highest educational levels in the world, educational programs are now collapsing. There is not enough money to publish educational and periodical literature, although there is plenty to publish escapist and adventure literature. There is the prospect that the future generation will end up ignorant.

[Gorbachev] A loss of interest in education of the people would be the worst mistake of all. All countries where there has been a breakthrough to a new quality of society have begun precisely with the education programs. Foreign representatives with whom I have had occasion to speak have noted the unquestionable achievement of the widespread education of our people and hence their immense potential capabilities. It is apparent that the people, who knew nothing of market systems before, are quickly learning to work with them and finding it easy to enter into the new economy. Of course, this is primarily because of education. I am not speaking about science. Western countries are literally hunting for representatives of science in our country. Fearing its collapse, they are even prepared to finance the works in which they are interested. We must not allow the nation's education to collapse! But, again, it is possible to prevent this only by preserving a unified educational and scientific space within our country, with common interaction among the republics.

[Kotlyar] Will you write another book when you have more free time?

[Gorbachev] Yes, and more than one. I have something to say. What will I write about? I will tell you in our next interview.

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what is your view of the situation that has developed in the leadership of Moscow?

[Gorbachev] I am experiencing all the difficulty of the situation in Moscow. In spite of the situation that exists, at Luzhkov's request I personally had to go to Delors and Kohl and ask that they render emergency aid to Moscow before 1 January because of the disastrous circumstances that have developed here. It is not correct to say that the republics will interrupt deliveries to Moscow; after all, Moscow is doing so much for the entire country. Sympathy is not enough; something else must be done. Therefore, knowing that much has become more complicated in recent days, I shall exert every effort and take advantage of all opportunities to rectify the situation. Moscow deserves to be taken into account. Previously at the Union level and now at the level of Russia and the Russian president personally, Moscow should always be a subject of constant concern.

Well, as for the questions raised by your leaders, I think they are right—Moscow needs more independence so that it can act and freely take advantage of its own potential. Now Moscow is restricted in its ability to exercise its rights. This is just as it was with Union decisions—they reached the republics and were not further developed after that even when they had to do with Moscow. I am not even speaking about other oblasts and cities—they are simply outcasts. I was told in Irkutsk that we want and are ready to take responsibility for the city but we do not have the necessary authority for this. The republic must share it.

[Kotlyar] While I have you here I cannot forget about the question of the future of Erich Honecker. What ultimately awaits him?

[Gorbachev] I do not like all that has developed around this story. My position in this question is known and I

will not step back from it—I think the Honecker question should be decided exclusively on the basis of human principles.

[Kotlyar] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what would you wish for Muscovites on the eve of this new, alarming year?

[Gorbachev] I want for Muscovites not to sink into confusion and lose hope. For many years my life has been linked to Moscow; this immense city has always been the center of stability. Although new stages in the movement of society have begun here—for better and for worse—it has always remained stable. I love Muscovites and I have many friends among the workers and intelligentsia here. Knowing them well, I place great hopes in them. Moscow should remain the vanguard of the movement toward reforms and we must never allow anything bad to happen here. I want to wish Muscovites a Happy New Year with all my heart, a year that will be difficult but full of hope.[end Gorbachev] **Immediately after the completion of the interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, news arrived from Alma-Ata about the shutting down of the Union power structures. The chimes on Spasskaya Tower began to ring out a new time. What it will mean for us is still unknown. When we went through the gates of the tower, next to us soldiers from the Kremlin parade unit were clearly counting time. There was a changing of the guard....**

Begins First Working Day

LD1b01000292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Video report by reporter A.Gerasimov—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had his first working day in Moscow. He is working in a new capacity; he is now chairman of the Social and Political Research Foundation. The Foundation is situated in the building of the recently abolished Institute of Social Sciences on Leningradskiy Prospekt.

[Gerasimov] The ex-president of the former Soviet Union started his working day at noon. At Mikhail Sergeyevich's side are the people loyal to him, the same as three weeks ago, his bodyguards and his close entourage. Today Gorbachev is again president— of the foundation named after him. According to the information we have, the Gorbachev Foundation will be engaged in social, economic, and political forecasting. It has been formed by merging the Velikhov, Shatalin, and Shevardnadze foundations with Gorbachev's own team.

As we were informed, this organization does not intend to stand in opposition to the present Russian leadership. The similarity of economic priorities of Yeltsin and Gorbachev points to this. Mikhail Sergeyevich believes that in the present complicated situation it is necessary first of all to offer incentives to the producers, not to sever ties between the former fraternal republics, and to sharply limit the rights of the monopoly enterprises.

Gorbachev was very reserved about the situation in the country.

[Gorbachev] I should not rush with the estimates now. It is probably too early to draw conclusions after only 10 days.

[Gerasimov] Also today Mikhail Gorbachev met former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who expressed his willingness to cooperate with the former Soviet president. By the way, Mikhail Sergeyevich did not exclude the possibility of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher participating in his foundation.

[Gorbachev] The Foundation is in its founding stage. I hope that this will be a useful organization, useful for Russia, for the Commonwealth countries, and for world policy.

[Gerasimov] The former Soviet president's foundation is to be officialy registered in the next few days. Gorbachev begins his new life. [video shows Gorbachev entering the building and talking to journalists; he is also shown talking to Kissinger]

Gorbachev, Kohl Agree To Maintain Contacts

OW1501191592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A telephone conversation took place on Wednesday [15 January] between the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Soviet ex-President Mikhail Gorbachev. A source close to Gorbachev told IF [INTERFAX] that the conversation had been initiated by the German leader, who had said he would like to talk to his old friend with whom they had worked together and made good progress in many areas.

When Mr. Kohl asked Mr. Gorbachev to share his plans for the near future, he was told of the creation of the Gorbachev Foundation to conduct socio-political studies.

The Chancellor expressed his country's and personal interest in the new structure. He and Mr. Gorbachev agreed to maintain further contacts both at personal level and through the Gorbachev Foundation. Mr. Kohl indicated he might take part in the foundation's work in one form or another.

Shevardnadze on SFRY, Yeltsin Reforms

AU1501195692 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Christian Schueller report on interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on 15 January]

[Text] A pessimistic Shevardnadze today said that the Soviet leadership missed a big chance in Yugoslavia. Moscow could have played a mediating role and maybe prevented terrible bloodshed. Yet, the way things developed, Soviet politicians were too engaged in dealing with their own problems and ignored the dangers and opportunities in their neighborhood, Shevardnadze stated.

Asked why in Russia everybody is now criticizing Yeltsin and his radical decontrol of prices and what he thought of it, Shevardnadze noted that first of all, price controls should have been lifted much earlier. He says that he repeatedly called for more rapid economic reforms, yet to no avail. One year ago it would still have been possible to prevent many shocks. The other part of the problem is that what Yeltsin is implementing here is nothing but a weak imitation, the caricature of a reform program, and is absolutely inadequate to boost production and to get down to the root of the trouble. This is why Yeltsin must now revise his own reforms in order to save what can be saved, Shevardnadze concluded.

Potential for Nuclear 'Brain Drain' Assessed

PM1501133592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 8

[Article prepared by Andrey Illesh "with the assistance" of correspondents Aleksey Tarasov, Vladimir Ardayev, and Anatoliy Yershov: "Brain Drain Here Equivalent To Exporting Atomic Bomb"]

[Excerpts] I will start with a sensational report carried by RIA. "The assembly of three nuclear charges, whose components come from Kazakhstan, has started in Iran," the Tunis-published weekly magazine AL-ANWAR AL-TUNISIYAH reports, citing sources of information in France. According to the version in the magazine, talks started by a group of Soviet experts before last August's events have been successfully completed by the Kazakhstan authorities, which established control over the nuclear weapons production complex in the city of Kurchatov (Semipalatinsk-21) after the failed putsch. The approximate value of the deal is $150-180 million. According to the magazine's information, 50 atomic industry personnel from the former USSR, who will be carrying out the assembly of the charges, are already in Iran. [passage omitted]

D. Sembayev, deputy head of the Republic of Kazakhstan government, described everything published by AL-ANWAR AL-TUNISIYAH as "a provocation which has nothing in common with reality and is designed to further destabilize relations among the states of the former Union."

Commenting on the report, the Kazakhstan deputy premier said that the atmosphere inside the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] is being artificially charged. Among other things the pan-Islamic card is being played—articles are constantly appearing about the alleged danger that Kazakhstan and the Central Asian states will unite with oriental countries on a religious-political basis. The vice premier is disposed to put the information with which we started this article in that category. "I can officially assure you that the Kazakhstan Government has not concluded and does not intend to conclude any such deals," D. Sembayev stressed.

However, the deputy prime minister did acknowledge that the Kazakhstan leadership is studying the possibilities for the production and sale of weapons abroad. The republic has inherited a powerful network of defense enterprises from the collapsed Union, and not to use this potential for its intended purpose "would be simply irrational, particularly as trade in weapons, provided it is not in breach of international legal norms, is a generally accepted pursuit"—in the opinion of the official.

Regarding the story of the possible recruitment of nuclear specialists for the countries of the Islamic East, this situation was commented on by V. Okolovich, chief scientific secretary of the Kazakhstan Republic Academy of Sciences. The research facility of the Semipalatinsk Test Range, where a special scientific center has been set up, has passed into the hands of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences.

"Kazakhstan does indeed possess a certain cadre pool of nuclear scientists," V. Okolovich said. "They are mainly concentrated in the Republic of Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences Nuclear Physics Institute, where I work too. This is not the first time I've heard talk of a 'nuclear brain drain.' However, I am not aware of a single specific instance of any specialist's being recruited for abroad. Just as I am unaware of even one case of such a recruitment offer coming from any country, East or West. As far as the group of scientists working at the Semipalatinsk Test Range is concerned, they continue to work in our academy's scientific research center. Although it has to be acknowledged that the center's activity on the program originally planned has somewhat slowed down. This is due primarily to lack of resources—around 40 million rubles is needed to finance this work today."

But Kazakhstan is not of course the sole source of this dreadful potential export. Krasnoyarsk Kray is also a long-standing location for huge military-industrial complex facilities. At least two facilities that could interest countries seeking to create nuclear weapons are located in the kray. These are a mining and chemical combine producing weapons-grade plutonium—material for atomic bombs—and the electrochemical plant at Krasnoyarsk-45, which is engaged in enriching uranium—it previously worked for the defense sector, but now works for the nuclear power complex. Both enterprises indeed possess unique collectives which have a wealth of highly skilled specialists. They are now potential candidates for a brain drain. Why? There are virtually no foodstuffs available in these secret Siberian settlements today, and the pay of these former standard-bearers of the military-industrial complex is extraordinarily low....

"There are people who want to go on a tourist trip abroad. But I have not heard of anyone wanting to go there for a 'job,'" said Pavel Morozov, deputy chief engineer of the mining and chemical combine. "We are production workers, and discipline is no mere word to us. I think that institute and design bureau staff are more likely to become suppliers of nuclear technology. At least, no desire to do that has been recorded here to date."

Anatoliy Shubin, director of the secret plant at Krasnoyarsk-45, responded in roughly the same terms. After the war in the Persian Gulf the enterprise was asked to send specialists to the UN commission tasked with studying how close Saddam Husayn had gotten to possessing an atomic bomb. But the Siberian workers declined—which does show indirectly that the search for contacts with foreign colleagues and special services does not interest Krasnoyarsk-45 atomic industry personnel overmuch.

However, it is becoming increasingly tough to live and work in the taiga settlements ringed with barbed wire. For that reason, I think, the possibility of a brain drain and hence a drain of nuclear know-how cannot be ruled out. According to its workers, not a single "foreigner," except for Ukrainians, has yet been able to go underground at the mining and chemical combine. But foreign trips for atomic industry personnel are more accessible now. So certain conditions for the "emigration" of nuclear secrets have been created. However, it should not be forgotten that workers in this sector were bound to form a special "state-conditioned way of thinking" during the long years of the "cold war". The near future will show how durable the ideological dogmas are.

Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast is not just Andrey Sakharov's place of political exile but also a region of top-secret nuclear production units. Valeriy Takoyev, chairman of the Arzamas-16 City Soviet, took up this post comparatively recently; he was previously a "bomb-maker." Arzamas-16 produces and develops nuclear weapons. The crux of his position is as follows. Last December he sent Boris Yeltsin a memorandum in which he described the alarming state of the sector. There are specialists working in the city, each of whom has at his command (to a greater or larger extent) the technique for making an atomic bomb. Although the city is a "closed" city, there always was, is, and will be a natural migration of its population. The anxiety lies elsewhere—material hardships have recently struck here too, and a half-starved worker with a nuclear device is a dangerous person. The last thing on his mind is work.

The material situation in the city (coupons and other such delights of our time have long been in evidence) has not yet reached the critical point. But the situation is dangerous all the same. The following "chain reaction" is possible: Specialists who have left the city because of the hardships of life could, if they came together, start developing a nuclear device. Who potentially is in a position to invite them to carry out their customary work? Any of our own independent states of the former Union. There are also those abroad in a position to really evaluate (in hard currency) the abilities of our nuclear industry personnel, according to the head of Arzamas-16.

In his memorandum to the Russian president V. Takoyev raises, for example, the question of the status of the "closed" city (its inhabitants must be provided with social protection if they voluntarily live behind barbed wire, where their rights are restricted—previously the inhabitants of Arzamas-16 never went on leave, receiving a sizable sum of money by way of compensation). And the final piece of evidence of Arzamas-16's uniqueness is that not just nuclear physicists but other specialists too work here—engineers, designers.... Taken together, such a brain drain harbors the possibility of a nuclear device being created wherever suitable conditions exist....

To briefly sum up, it can be stated, as in jokes, that two conclusions can be drawn—good and bad. Following tradition, let us start with the bad news. The justification for anxiety about the spread of nuclear technology and, first and foremost, of know how from the CIS is perfectly clear. Moreover, it is realistic. The destruction of socialism in this respect is no less dangerous than the continuation of extreme socialist ideas, in whose realization state trade in bombs or missiles with regimes that pleased us was also perfectly feasible. You only have to remember the war in the Persian Gulf, where most of the weapons used by Iraq were supplied by us. The good news is that no specific (material) evidence of a brain drain from here to there has been discovered by IZVESTIYA.

For the time being.

West Said 'Worried'

LD1401233192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2200 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Commentary by Petr Fil—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the West is worried about the fact that the USSR's political collapse can result in a drain of both nuclear arms and scientists capable of developing them. It has become known that Libya has already offerred jobs to several employees of the Moscow Kurchatov Institute for Nuclear Energy. Many institute specialists are keenly considering the opportunity of getting a job abroad. After all, the salary promised by the Libyan side amounts to $2,000 a month. According to TASS, several dozen specialists from the Kurchatov Institute are already working in the United States, Japan, and other countries.

In addition, it seems that a split of the nuclear complex, which was unitary at one time, is starting. In reply to the Ukraine's refusal to supply Krasnoyarsk Kray with food and industrial goods, the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet informed the Ukrainian leadership that as of 15 January the kray would cease to receive waste from Ukrainian nuclear stations. South Korea immediately showed interest in the storages for waste nuclear fuel situated in

Krasnoyarsk, which form part of the mining chemical combine which produces weapons-grade pluronium for atomic bombs. The country's business circles showed readiness to pay up to $1 million for a ton of waste fuel from Korean stations accepted in Siberia. Nuclear sites in Japan and India are also being considered as prospective suppliers of nuclear waste and currency.

If, motivated by economic profits, other home storages of nuclear waste start to refuse to accept the waste fuel from Commonwealth nuclear power plants, one can expect wagon-loads of unburied radioactive waste to appear roaming across the land. (Video shows archive footage of various nuclear plants, control rooms]

Kalugin Says 'No Soviet Spies' Left in U.S.

LD1601113692 Moscow TASS in English 0756 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York January 16 TASS—There are no Soviet spies in the United States, Oleg Kalugin, former head of KGB foreign counter-intelligence, said.

In an interview with the U.S. Cable News Network on Tuesday [14 January], Kalugin said "some of them retired, others simply ran away".

He stressed that many Soviet moles were discovered by U.S. authorities with the help of CIA agents working in the Soviet intelligence service.

"I am sure they have unmasked the majority, if not all of them. Besides, there were not many of them in the United States," Kalugin said.

Kalugin is in the United States at the invitation of the U.S. publishers "Turner Book Publishing" to advertise the book "Seven Days That Shook the World" written with the participation of CNN correspondents. The book tells about the August putsch in the Soviet Union.

Ex-KGB Colonel 'Demolished' POW Story

PM1601095592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 92 Morning Edition p4

[Correspondent Vladimir Skosyrev report: "KGB Secrets Become Commercial"]

[Text] If anyone doubts that we are becoming more civilized, they should have been present at the news conference given by retired KGB Colonel Oleg Nechiporenko on 9 January. Even the Doubting Thomases among us would have realized that retired intelligence workers at home and abroad are fearlessly supplying journalists with information on secret matters and, moreover, still refuting statements by their superior officers (also retired, of course).

In this case, the superior officer in question was none other than Oleg Kalugin. As we have already reported, he has claimed in several interviews with U.S. television companies that KGB personnel questioned (or interrogated) three U.S. prisoners of war in Vietnam in 1978, i.e. five years after Hanoi said it had released all prisoners. This feature of the interviews has excited U.S. public opinion most of all.

Colonel Nechiporenko completely demolished General Kalugin's story. First, the incident took place in 1973, rather than 1978—immediately after the signing of the Paris agreements on Indochina. Second, he had only talked to one American in Hanoi—he worked at the CIA residence in the city of Da Nang and specialized in the Soviet Union.

According to the colonel, the meeting organized by "Vietnamese friends" was not without its humorous side. The Vietnamese introduced him to the American as a member of staff of an East European country's foreign ministry. The American saw through this subterfuge, although he gave no sign. The conversation, which lasted between two and two and a half hours, was followed by a lunch break. Naturally, the colonel was eager to continue, but disappointment awaited him. The Vietnamese informed him that the "contact had refused another meeting."

Consequently, he had to give the list of questions prepared in Moscow to his "friends," so that they could pump the information out of the American. Reference information—mainly confirming what the KGB already knew—was eventually obtained from an enemy spy held prisoner for five years.

A U.S. journalist at the news conference tried to find out the name of the prisoner. Nechiporenko replied that Washington already knows the prisoner's identity and that it could not be revealed to journalists for reasons of "professional solidarity."

O. Kalugin has not been overly worried by these considerations—not so much in his attitude to his former rivals as with regard to his former comrades. The retired general has not stood on ceremony when assessing his former colleagues. So what prompted him to make his disclosures? That question, the colonel smiled, would be best answered by the medics. He also made it clear that he would not object to the general being brought before an officers' court of honor.

The subject of the U.S. prisoners' interrogation could probably be considered closed, if it were not for one striking coincidence: On the very day Nechiporenko gave his news conference, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman announced the formation of a joint commission of the Russian parliament and U.S. Congress to investigate the reports about U.S. prisoners of war. One wonders why this commission is being set up if there were no further contacts with U.S. servicemen.

Having achieved instant fame as a result of the episode in Vietnam, O. Nechiporenko kept a modest silence about his other brush with history—his meetings with

Lee Harvey Oswald, future assassin of U.S. President Kennedy. However, journalists questioned him about this too. The colonel was chary with the details. He admitted that he and two KGB colleagues met Oswald twice at the Soviet Embassy in Mexico in 1963, approximately two months before the assassination.

What did they talk about? The Oswald case remains a stain on world history, and Nechiporenko has promised to shed some light on the subject. However, anyone who wants to find out what they talked about will obviously have to pay: This material is a "commercial secret" of the colonel and his two colleagues.

Such a practical approach to world history has to be admired. As we can see, retired KGB staffers are increasingly enthusiastic about adopting the norms of conduct widespread among their colleagues in the West. Nevertheless, the question remains: Is it right to use secret information obtained in state service for commercial purposes?

IZVESTIYA Reports Algerian Tensions

PM1601111192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Vladimir Skosyrev: "On the Brink of Civil War. Fighting Could Break Out in Algeria Between the Army and Islamic Fundamentalists"]

[Text] The Algerian capital is quiet for now. Tanks and army patrols are guarding the main government buildings, while the bearded men from the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] are talking with the mullahs in the mosques and are being advised not to provoke the authorities.

The Islamic fundamentalists' restrained reaction to the cancellation of the second round of the parliamentary elections, which were supposed to take place on 16 January, certainly does not mean that they have retreated on encountering a show of force. On the contrary, the FIS has already appealed to all Algerians, including servicemen, to rebuff the "illegal giant"—the Islamists' name for the Higher Security Council.

The Algerian military and politicians did not directly violate the Constitution, though, since it does provide for the existence of the Higher Security Council. However, whereas formerly the council operated as a consultative body, last Sunday [12 January] it assumed full power, citing the threat to public order, and a few days later even formed a new body—a State Council, headed by Mohamed Boudiaf, a veteran of the anticolonial struggle.

The question is, though, how long will the present fragile equilibrium last. It cannot be ruled out, in fact, that the FIS leaders will be unable to control their supporters in the future, and violence could erupt, even civil war.

The prospect frightens both the West and Algeria's neighbors. It is not just that this country, with its population of 25 million, is a world exporter of oil. The events in Algeria are seen by many observers as part of a wider conflict between burgeoning Islam and European civilization, based on the culture of ancient Greece, Rome and the Christian tradition. A victory for the Islamists in the country, according to Arab observer Yusuf 'Azmi, could cause a kind of domino effect, whereby the "bones" of secular or liberal regimes in the Near and Middle East would begin to collapse one after another.

This hypothesis appears fantastic only at first glance. In fact, in nearly all states in the region there is very strong dissatisfaction with the rulers, which is driving people into the arms of the Islamic radicals. What, after all, did their success in Algeria's first free parliamentary election mean? It meant, above all, that a section of the electorate had snubbed the elite that ruled the state. This elite ordinarily used French, grew rich on the influx of petrodollars, and counterposed itself to the countryside and also to the inhabitants of the city slums. Is all this not reminiscent of Iran on the eve of Khomeyni's revolution? Are not the leaders of Tunisia and Morocco facing the challenge that the shah of Iran once faced?

It is not impossible that Tunisia could go the same way as Algeria. But the Tunisian government does not intend to take the risk. The fundamentalist party has been outlawed there. In Morocco King Hassan's position is not that strong either. Not for nothing is he often compared to the shah of Iran. In Egypt President Mubarak manages to quell extremist onslaughts by using harsh punitive measures, but in Jordan King Husayn has had to allow the fundamentalists into parliament, although they have not acquired any real power. Bellicose Islamists have more than once caused upheavals in countries as varied as Syria, Lebanon, Libya, and Saudi Arabia.

The arc of instability extends further east—to Afghanistan and to the Indus valley of Kashmir, where Muslim militants have staged an armed rebellion. Finally, Western observers also point to our Central Asia, where the religious factor is acquiring increasing prominence.

Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the futurologists are right when they say that with the end of the "cold war" the world is bound to be plunged into a new confrontation—this time between the forces of Islam and Christianity. This is not the 17th century. And even in Algeria bloody clashes can be avoided if the dispute is resolved by political means.

CIS Spokesman on Soviet Troops, Poland

LD1501193192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1742 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—An official of the information administration of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] has refuted a

statement by an authorized spokesman of the government of the Polish Republic on questions of the Soviet troops' stay, Colonel Stefan Golebiowski. In an interview to the newspaper POLSKA ZBROJNA this Polish military man stated that in 1991 it had been proposed to withdraw from the Republic's territory "20 percent of the personnel of the Northern Group of Troops, comprising about 10,000 servicemen," but that in fact "only 4,300 Soviet servicemen left Poland." Since September of last year, the colonel asserted, the strength of the Soviet soldiers and combat equipment located here "has practically not been reduced."

"The withdrawal of units of the Northern Group of Troops from the territory of Poland is being conducted strictly in conformity with the ratified schedule," the spokesman for the information administration said. "This is well known to the Polish side. Last year a missile brigade, and a number of other units and subunits, with a total strength of more than 10,000 servicemen, left Poland. From the city of Brzeg, for instance, a fighter aircraft regiment was completely withdrawn—over 400 aircraft. By previous agreement, in the third quarter of this year the withdrawal of all combat units of the Northern Group of Troops is to be completed. There are no grounds to doubt that the schedule will be observed. The most important thing now is not to omit, as unfortunately happened before, the just resolution of the property and finance issues and social problems of our servicemen returning to the homeland."

PRC Vice Minister on 'Successful' CIS Trip

LD1501222892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Sergey Sorokin]

[Text] Beijing, 15 Jan (TASS)—Tian Zengpei, PRC vice minister of foreign affairs said that the recent visit by a PRC governmental delegation to a number of republics of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] had been successful, and had brought positive results in the political as well as in the economic sphere. In an interview today to the TASS correspondents he stressed that the visits had laid good foundations for maintaining and developing relations of friendship and cooperation between China and these states in the new situation.

A long tradition of friendship exists between the Chinese people and the peoples of the republics of the CIS, Tian Zengpei noted. Thanks to the visits to Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan, we have become more closely acquainted with the situation in these countries. Mutual understanding was achieved on many questions. We were united in the opinion that it was necessary to develop political relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence; we also agreed that the provisions of the joint Chinese-Soviet communiques of 1989 and 1991 should continue to be the guiding principles in relations between China and the new independent states.

The PRC agreed with the argument of its Russian friends that it is not necessary for the Russian Federation to establish diplomatic relations with China anew, as it is the legal successor to the former Soviet Union, the diplomat said. In this connection the decison was made to appoint the PRC ambassador to the former USSR as ambassador to the Russian Federation. Accords were reached on establishing diplomatic relations with Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan at the level of ambassadors. China hopes to establish diplomatic relations with Belarus in the very near future.

On the subject of trade and economic links, Tian Zengpei noted the complementary nature of the national economy of China and the economies of the independent republics. He stressed that there were broad prospects for the development of cooperation between the PRC and these states in the most varied spheres and forms.

During the talks the question of the border between China and four republics of the CIS was touched upon. We came out in favor of continuing the border talks, Tian Zengpei said. Whereas in the past the PRC had only one neighbor to its north, it now has four neighboring countries: the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan. It is up to them whether they form a joint delegation to conduct the talks with the PRC, or whether they each conduct them individually. This is not a problem for China and it is waiting for them to decide.

Tian Zengpei specified that China will gradually, starting this year, open embassies in the CIS countries. Furthermore, it intends subsequently to establish diplomatic relations and establish PRC embassies in the remaining four republics of the CIS which the Chinese delegation did not manage to visit. However, in the first instance Chinese trade representations will be set up in all the countries, as the development of trade and economic links between the PRC and the new independent states is a more urgent task at the present time.

Commonwealth

Heads of Member States Meeting in Moscow 16 Jan

Agenda Not Yet Disclosed

LD1501223192 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS news analyst Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Although the agenda of a meeting of heads of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] opening in Moscow on Thursday [16 January] has not yet been announced, coordination of economic reforms of CIS countries will most probably be one of its main items. This conclusion can be drawn from events that took place since the previous meeting of presidents held in Minsk on December 30.

Adopting a dozen of documents determining the basic principles of relations between members of the CIS, leaders of sovereign states then failed to reach a consensus on economic matters and on coordination of the republics' actions during reforms. Russia's First Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis admitted last Saturday [11 January] that this was largely the reason why the problem of forming the common economic space sharply aggravated.

First of all, a number of countries introduced various coupons and rationing cards to protect their consumer markets. This measure hits Russia the hardest. The mass of roubles crowded out by local coupons from Ukraine may reach Russia whose consumer market is poor as it is. The common economic space is jeopardised by measures of sovereign states to prohibit the taking of goods out of their territories. Russia was the last among members of the Commonwealth to introduce on January 10 the ban on the taking out of some 60 kinds of products and consumer goods from its territory.

In this connection many economists deem it vitally important to set up a central government of countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States which would coordinate efforts of republics to overcome the crisis. However, the leadership of a number of republics opposes the formation of a central government, saying that they do not wish to jeopardise their sovereignty. Russia has not yet decided on its stand: It is believed there can be no central government until all countries reach mutual understanding about the final aims of reforms and fundamental methods of their implementation.

Economic reforms in republics are now coordinated only on the basis of bilateral inter-state agreements and treaties. However, some experts in the Russian Government do not preclude the possibility of resuming the Treaty on Economic Cooperation signed by heads of nine states three months ago or concluding a similar document in the near future.

At the Moscow meeting on Thursday [16 January] the heads of states may consider division of the Armed Forces and the destiny of the Black Sea Fleet, the question that aggravated in the recent days. But these problems will not be dominant since they are still being analysed by experts and state delegations of member countries of the Commonwealth.

Meeting Not 'Extraordinary'

LD1601032392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The meeting of the Council of the Heads of State of the Commonwealth which will take place in Moscow today, is not an extraordinary one, though initially it was planned to be held in Minsk at the end of January. This explanation was received by the RIA from a competent source in the Russian Government. The same source reported that the transfer of the date was caused by considerations relating to working schedules of the heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States. As to the agenda, it is planned to examine an issue of reforming conventional Armed Forces of the former USSR and their status. A discussion of issues relating to the coordination of foreign political activities is also planned.

Article Assesses Role of Commonwealth, Peace

PM1501162792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Union Edition p 2

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov: "New Geography Primer or Why It Is Quite Impossible without the Commonwealth"]

[Text] The first television channel has cited the figures from a poll according to which less than one-third of people now believe in the stability of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. The distrust was aggravated by the recent debates between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet. The idea of the CIS is centripetal (albeit without a center) and unifying yet practice continues to be centrifugal. On the current plane that suits some leaders and politicians but by no means the peoples, who are quite reluctant to fight. Yet without the Commonwealth there will be no real peace between the independent states.

To explain this there is no need even to look at the example of Yugoslavia as it unfolds before our eyes or even closer at the example of Azerbaijan and Armenia. You just have to imagine a new—and as yet unpublished—map on which instead of the single Soviet Union there are 15 independent states. And to take a look around with Russian eyes, remembering history. That of course is difficult—looking with new Russian eyes and not the "common" Soviet eyes, and perception lags behind events but perhaps it should be made to catch up to avoid trouble.

What we can see in Russia on this map is not like what we saw in the USSR. Of the former neighboring states only Norway, Finland, Mongolia, and China remain. The USSR was closer to Western Europe than Russia is now—closer physically. The USSR bordered on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania. Russia borders on Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, and Ukraine. It touches on Poland and Lithuania only in Kaliningrad Oblast, whose future without the CIS will be further complicated. Imagine—without the CIS—the sheer hostility between Ukraine and Russia, in which Belarus inclines toward Ukraine. One option is a railroad blockade of freight from Western and Central Europe to Russia like the blockade which Azerbaijan is implementing against Armenia only on a far larger and more dangerous scale. One extreme option but by no means a fantastic one without a working Commonwealth.

Let us move further south down the new map which it is time to publish as a visual aid. The USSR used to border on Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan and was but a stone's throw away from Pakistan and India. Russia has more northerly and of course different neighbors—Georgia, Azerbaijan and East of the Caspian Sea it has the large Kazakhstan. It used to protect Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan from Russia and also protect China over thousands of kilometers of that former Soviet-Chinese border which passed through Central Asia.

What can the options, both extreme and not very extreme, be here? You cannot list them all—from transit visas via Kazakhstan for a citizen of the Russian Federation traveling to, let us say, Tashkent, to the departure of "our" Central Asia into the Muslim world if the historically formed attraction to Russia is weakened and reduced to nothing by the years. At present these are only seeds in the soil of separatism. They will sprout without fail if the centrifugal forces continue to rule and the CIS remains only an empty shell, only a convenient form of bidding farewell to the totalitarian Union.

In the depths of youthful Russian diplomacy there has been born the concept of "abroad close at hand," that is of yesterday's republics which have become sovereign states. Establishing equitable mutually advantageous ties with them is a priority. That also means filling with content the form of interstate association that is called the CIS. But since diplomatic energy is not infinite and new priorities are fraught with the danger that old ones will be weakened it is entirely likely that the foreign policy activeness of Russia and Central Asia will result in passivity in the Near East except, obviously, for Israel, where hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens are settling.

In general, if we look from Russia, of the former borders apart from the Norwegian and Finnish borders only the Far Eastern one remains—with Mongolia and China. Great prospects are opening up there for relations with Japan, a rapidly developing economic superpower, but the underdeveloped, underpopulated Far East is not ready for their accelerated implementation, even in the South Kurils.

If Russia implants democracy and successfully implements radical economic reform, a fruitful involvement in the world economy awaits us. Given a favorable option the improvement of the Russians' living standard and civic freedom will compensate for the psychological damage caused by the loss of the status of a global superpower which millions of people, especially the older generation, cannot help experiencing.

To ensure that this is not a fashionable and implausible new fairy tale about a bright future on the radiant summits of capitalism, the Commonwealth is vitally necessary—to eradicate the imperial mentality and at the same time to preserve—under different, democratic, conditions—the geopolitical and geostrategic area in which ethnic Russians and Russian citizens have grown accustomed to live for centuries. Yes, nurturing one's own national and state dignity but in no circumstances infringing on the national and state dignity of the Russian giant. That is vitally important for all states of the Commonwealth if it does indeed intend to be a Commonwealth.

Alas, in the story of the Black Sea Fleet Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk failed to display such understanding. He acted too hastily without considering how is "predatory" method would be received in Russia. Boris Yeltsin reacted with an obvious delay, not immediately using his position to back up Marshal Shaposhnikov and Admirals Chernavin and Kasatonov. And when his position was finally stated—"it has been, is, and will be Russian"—the Ukrainian side suspected it of containing a challenge to its sovereignty. The precondition of the conflict was the general haste in creating the CIS and the obvious incompleteness of its fundamental documents, including those about the fate of the former USSR's armed forces. Now, after the Russian-Ukrainian talks in Kiev, belated and, once again, hasty, they seem to have moved toward an agreement but so far it is hard to regard it as definitive.

Is the present Black Sea Fleet necessary or not in our present circumstances? What is more important—the Fleet or sausage? These are important questions but they ignore the broader background to the conflict which has suddenly erupted. Behind Ukraine's desire to get the Fleet and, moreover, without prior arrangement, Russia saw the first bold attempt to encroach on its geostrategic area, which it is prepared to share with Ukraine and other CIS members, but does not intend to tear away from itself and hand over to another state.

Behind the silhouettes of the warships there immediately loomed Sevastopol, the "city of Russian glory," and the entire Crimea and the main Black Sea trading ports, which traditionally belonged to Russia and to which it does not intend to lose free access. Give them an inch and they take a mile. Especially (let's take another look at

the transformed map) as Russia will also be constrained in the Baltic if the settlement with independent Estonia and Latvia is as poorly thought out and closes the main Baltic ports to it.

The conclusion may be formulated briefly: Live and let live. That simple wisdom is alien to the imperial spirit but it sees the protection of one's own interest in respect for the interests of others. It also presupposes a consideration of geography and history dictating the compulsory "transparency" of borders. And the utmost balance and circumspection in the difficult construction of the CIS.

Military

Pyankov Characterizes Results of Fleet Talks

Talks To End 17 Jan

LD1501150392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Report on interview with Boris Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, CIS, by correspondent S. Sokolova; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Sokolova] Talks were held in Moscow yesterday in the main command of the CIS Armed Forces. During discussions with Ukrainian experts, the issue of the makeup of strategic purpose troops was decided in detail. Talks on the Air Force are proceeding more or less normally. The stumbling block was the Black Sea Fleet. Attempts to change the status of the fleet for one reason or another, including because it is proposed in the future to eliminate its nuclear weapons, cannot be regarded as well-grounded. The Black Sea Fleet will fulfill its strategic role without nuclear weapons too.

[Begin Pyankov recording] Ukraine President Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk has said that the Ukraine needs a fleet to protect the coast, to foil smuggling activities, and to defend coastal communications. For this purpose, a fleet consisting of, say, a division of submarines, a brigade of heavy cruisers which fulfill tasks in the Mediterranean and in the world ocean, is unnecessary. And thus the position, and obstinacy, at least of the experts of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, is all the more incomprehensible. [end recording]

[Sokolova] It is planned to end the talks process on 17 January and to report on the results to the deputy chairman of the Russian Government, Sergey Shakhray.

Ukraine 'On Unequal Footing'

OW1501181092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first round of talks held on Tuesday [14 January] between military experts of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and representatives of the Joint Military Command and the General Staff of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) did not last very long. Mr Vitaliy Zakharchenko, the military advisor of the Ukrainian plenipotentiary mission in the Russian Federation, said the Ukrainian delegation was placed on an unequal footing as compared to its counterparts, since the Commonwealth delegation was 5-7 times larger. In addition, he said, it was not quite clear "whose defense office Ukrainian counterparts represented." It has been decided to resume talks on January 16 in Kiev.

Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Alleged Arms Sales

LD1501173192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has described the allegations in some mass media that certain members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) intend to sell or are even already selling nuclear weapons as "nonsense". "It is dangerous and even criminal to say such things in the mass media," the commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces said in an interview with the NOVOYE VREMYA weekly. "The CIS has declared that it adheres to all the international treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, including the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. All the talk that during his visit to Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan Vice President Rutskoy held talks on selling nuclear weapons is a flight of the imagination."

Touching upon the trade in conventional weapons, Shaposhnikov acknowledged that there were problems in this question. "One can guess why sovereign states want to possess such weapons so badly—and in the USSR they were concentrated in the main on the periphery," the marshal said. "Perhaps a sovereign state wants to sell them, to make a fortune? Perhaps it wants to resolve social problems through arms sales?" Shaposhnikov is convinced that CIS members "should not act separately" in this issue and that some kind of agreement must be worked out.

The CIS commander in chief thinks the economy was and remains the main issue. "If the division of the Armed Forces led to the solution of economic problems and enhanced the welfare of the working people, I would not only agree to divide the Armed Forces, I would give myself to be divided up into 11 parts," Shaposhnikov said.

Future of Air Force Addressed by Commander

LD1501223192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The military-political conflict of the past few days does not only affect the Navy. The question of the other

services will inevitably arise too. To whom will the Air Force belong, and what is its future? I shall cite just one fact: the aircraft that you are about to see was made in the workshops of nearly 900 factories in the former USSR. [video shows several shots of a large bomber, military man being interviewed]

[Begin recording P.S. Deynekin, Air Force commander in chief] Each republic has the right to have its own air force and, to that end, it must draw on the common property. It is professionally unthinkable, however, and practically impossible, to fragment military transport aviation and all frontline aviation. To act thus means to cause all the republics to fall decades behind the times. It has come about historically that the design offices are in some republics, the aircraft building works are in others, and the engine building factories are in yet other republics. One must also take account of the fact that, for example, of our 20,000 airmen, 15,000 are Russians. Therefore, when the ships, tanks, and aircraft are divided up, human destinies too are being cut to the quick. Until the law has determined the structure of the Armed Forces and the status of the serviceman, administering the oath of allegiance is premature, and, if it is done under pressure, then it is, perhaps, also immoral. It will inevitably generate new problems. [end recording]

Role of CIS Strategic Forces Examined

PM1501150592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Colonel V.Ya. Savchenko, specialist at the General Staff Operational and Strategic Research Center, by correspondent Major A. Yegorov; place and date not given; under rubric "Military Specialist's Opinion": "What Are Strategic Forces?"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Just what are the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] strategic forces? From the standpoint of the Ukrainian leadership they are just nuclear forces and nothing else. The CIS Armed Forces High Command [glavkomat] thinks differently: Strategic forces should guarantee the strategic stability [ustoychivost] of the Armed Forces as a whole.

Just who is right in this protracted dispute? Our correspondent's questions were answered by Colonel Viktor Yakovlevich Savchenko, a specialist at the General Staff Operational and Strategic Research Center.

[Savchenko] The everyday operations of the strategic nuclear forces in maintaining combat readiness in peacetime and their use in combat has always been planned within the unified system of all the Armed Forces. In order to improve the combat stability of the strategic nuclear forces during conventional warfare it was planned to use the necessary general purpose forces and systems from the ground forces, Navy, and Air Forces. According to our assessments, only this kind of comprehensive use of the strategic nuclear forces and general purpose forces could guarantee the required combat effectiveness of the strategic nuclear forces' retaliation under any conditions. Rejecting these approaches would mean putting nuclear systems at risk from precision weapons employed by a probable adversary.

That is why the CIS strategic forces which are being set up should have, aside from the strategic nuclear forces, all the necessary structures to resolve the everyday tasks of maintaining combat readiness in peacetime and resolving the necessary combat missions during both nuclear and conventional warfare. These structures are: large strategic formations, combined units, units, institutions, and military training establishments of the SRF [Strategic Rocket Forces], the Air Forces, the Navy, the air defense system, the directorate of the chief of space systems, the airborne forces, and strategic and operational intelligence; nuclear technical units; and forces, systems [sredstva], and other installations providing command, control, and support services.

[Yegorov] There is no doubt about the need to organizationally unify SRF combined units, institutions, and higher educational institutions with nuclear technical units. But can you explain the need for strategic forces in the Navy, the air defense system, and the Air Forces?

[Savchenko] The most conclusive example is that of the joint use of missile and space defense forces and systems from the air defense forces.

The fact is that the components of the missile and space defense information system—the missile attack early warning system and the space monitoring system—are the eyes and ears of the CIS strategic forces. It is only with their help that it is possible to register the fact of an enemy missile launch, determine the scale of a nuclear strike, or constantly monitor the state of and actions taken by military space systems. This information allows the top CIS leaders to make a justified decision to use the strategic forces.

The ASAT and ABM defense systems, which are also part of the missile and space defense system by repulsing enemy missile strikes, are able to improve the survivability of strategic forces in a nuclear war.

The strategic mission of maintaining the strategic nuclear forces' combat stability and improving the effectiveness of their retaliation in a conventional war will also be carried out by the air defense system. Its forces and weapons will protect the strategic forces' command and control systems and nuclear weapons from strikes by precision weaponry.

Each of the existing fleets also carries out strategic missions. This goes for the Black Sea and Baltic Fleets too, despite the fact that they have no nuclear missile submarines. This is explained by the fact that the ships making up these fleets are able to carry out operational

and strategic missions in attacking possible enemy installations, conducting long-range reconnaissance, and preventing wartime penetration by enemy forces into maritime areas from which cruise missiles could be launched—against strategic force installations among others.

A considerable contribution is made by the Air Forces to safeguarding the strategic forces' combat stability in a conventional warfare environment. Air Force operations reduce the effectiveness of precision weaponry strikes on the part of a probable adversary against strategic nuclear force command and control centers and launch installations.

The inclusion in the strategic forces of the command and control systems of the chief of space systems is explained by the fact that it is inconceivable for all the structures making up the strategic forces to operate without space backup.

[Yegorov] Doesn't it strike you that this makes the strategic forces which are being set up rather large?

[Savchenko] At first glance it does indeed seem as though the strategic forces will be large and diverse. However, it needs to be borne in mind that the CIS strategic forces are being set up [sozdaniye] at a time of radical cuts in strategic offensive weapons and therefore there will also be radical cuts not only to the personnel but also to the types of nuclear and conventional weapons in service.

All-Army Conference To Take Place 16 Jan

Problems Viewed

PM1501114892 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Major General of Aviation N. Stolyarov, chairman of the Committee for Work With Personnel, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Tokarev: "Hoping for Wisdom"]

[Text] The All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Assemblies opens in Moscow the day after tomorrow. At the request of the editorial office, Major General of Aviation N. Stolyarov, chairman of the Committee for Work With Personnel, talks about his view of the problems that will be discussed there.

[Stolyarov] The armed forces of any state are a rigidly centralized organization, not to suit someone's whim or evil design, but by virtue of the objective need to resolve specific tasks of protecting the interests of state security. Therefore the question of the Army's present and future is first and foremost political. However, the impression has been created recently that our politicians' actions sometimes go beyond the bounds of what is rational and reasonable. The formation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], as the antithesis of an ultracentralized totalitarian state, is an objective and logical process. But evidently its creators did not think deeply about the full complexity of military problems that will arise in this context.

On the basis of present day realities it must be remembered that the Commonwealth has inherited modern Armed Forces with a mighty nuclear arsenal. In addition it must be taken into account that the Army does not mean only "hardware"—missiles, aircraft, tanks, ships, and guns. It also means a very high intellectual and personnel potential. Finally, it means the lives of millions of people in uniform who have devoted their best years to the Fatherland's selfless service. So how do you divide all this up? You cannot cut through living tissue. You need civilized measures, a gradual, considered approach to resolving questions of reorganizing and reducing the Army. Here it is important to preserve the combat capability of the Armed Forces.

In view of all this the former USSR Defense Ministry proposed for the transitional period what we see as a sensible compromise. To preserve under unified command the joint strategic forces: missile forces, aviation, the Navy, air defense—and at the same time to grant the sovereign states the right to have their own national armed forces if that is in accordance with their interests and budget potential. But here too we proposed to coordinate operations so as to resolve the tasks entrusted to them with the lowest possible expenditure of efforts and resources, seeking at the same time the steady, gradual reduction and withdrawal of troops from those territories where the states deem their presence inappropriate. And in Minsk this was agreed in principle.

But since the beginning of this year events have been following a rather different scenario—the troops stationed on Ukrainian territory received instructions from the Ukrainian Defense Ministry immediately to take an oath of loyalty to the sovereign state. A great many questions arose. What about the personnel of subunits of the Black Sea Fleet and other branches and categories of forces which, under the Minsk accords, are assigned to the strategic forces? What should servicemen, especially officers, do if they have taken an oath already and refuse to take a second?

Against the background of instability associated with unresolved social, domestic, and housing problems, this hasty approach to the matter has exacerbated the situation. Servicemen and members of their families have begun to approach us individually and collectively with requests and demands for clarification of the situation and advice on how they should act in these circumstances.

Frankly speaking, it is not easy for us to take steps or give advice. Let me stress: We respect the sovereignty of every state belonging to the CIS and recognize its right to resolve all questions autonomously. But at the same time it is simply our duty to ensure legal and social protection for servicemen.

And that is how, on an initiative from below, the idea was born of holding an All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Collectives, who will discuss a wide range of problems concerning the present and future of the Armed Forces.

[Tokarev] Nikolay Sergeyevich, what can the conference really do? Some people have already expressed doubts: Is this some kind of diktat by the military with regard to the Commonwealth's political leadership?

[Stolyarov] I can state authoritatively that we do not have the slightest intention of intervening in political processes or dictating terms to anyone whatsoever. I think the events of last August should remove even the slightest suspicion that the army, nurturing ambitious designs of some kind, seeks a military dictatorship. In our extremely unstable society only a madman would try to do that. But in the present complex situation we military men do not want to be mere onlookers playing no part in events that concern us most closely. Therefore the main aim of the conference is, on the basis of the general opinion, to formulate the recommendations that are necessary for the adoption of considered political decisions. I will make no secret of the fact that a number of documents are being drafted: a resolution and appeals to the peoples and leaders of the Commonwealth states and to servicemen of the CIS Armed Forces. The conference participants will decide on their form and content.

[Tokarev] It was reported in the mass media that Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov has allegedly stated that unless the CIS members reach a constructive consensus on the problem of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, he will resign. How realistic is this?

[Stolyarov] The person who heads the Armed Forces has to be a politician who blends firmness with flexibility. In my view these are quite clearly expressed in Yevgeniy Ivanovich. I have often had occasion to observe his actions in serious and sometimes acute situations, and he has always shown firmness and at the same time the ability to make a reasonable compromise. Therefore his statement on the possibility of resignation is no mere populist move. It is a reminder to the political leaders that in these days no one will want to assume the heavy burden of responsibility for the disintegration of the Armed Forces.

[Tokarev] How would you comment on the evolution of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's views of the military problem? Prior to his election as president of the Russian Federation he initiated the idea of creating a republic army. As the "Gorbachevian" Union center grew weaker, this idea receded into the background. And finally, last October, in his program speech at the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, he stated that it is politically more justified to have joint Commonwealth Armed Forces under unified command and that if Russia is forced to create its own national army, this will not be its own choice.

[Stolyarov] There is a class of people who boast, deliberately emphasizing their constancy in their approach to tackling a particular problem. "I cannot waive my principles," they say, "here I stand!" But a sensible person, a mature, independent politician, keeps ahead of the processes he foresees and takes account of current realities. Life does not stand still, and naturally views change. Yes, in yesterday's terms the initial approach to the problem of Russia's Armed Forces was appropriate to the then political situation. Just as at the end of last year Boris Nikolayevich stated that Russia does not seek to create its own army. This too was objectively justified in relation to the specific period in question.

As for Boris Nikolayevich's position on the Armed Forces in the present situation, I think it will be set forth at the forthcoming All-Army Conference.

I expressed my own view three months ago, while working at the Union KGB. Given a deterioration in the situation, if the destabilization processes in the army reach danger point, entailing the risk of unpredictable consequences, then the possibility cannot be ruled out that Russia will be forced to take a decisive, crucial, but necessary step—to transfer all the Armed Forces to its own jurisdiction for the transitional period, in order to complete the military reform. And this is based not on the desire to build up the "military muscle" of the Russian state, but first and foremost on concern for the peace and tranquillity of the peoples, not only in Russia.

[Tokarev] All the same, Nikolay Sergeyevich, how, in your view, could events develop subsequently?

[Stolyarov] Making predictions is a thankless task. But according to the logic of things, the fate of the Armed Forces will depend on the future of the CIS. There are several possibilities. The Commonwealth will exist in the form originally conceived: for a certain period necessary for the states to acquire autonomy and establish sovereignty. For that transitional period it would be logical to maintain the Armed Forces according to the pattern proposed in the Minsk accords, as I mentioned earlier. That is one possibility.

Another is that the Commonwealth, because of certain objective factors, will not continue to exist for long, and the need for closer collaboration will force the sovereign states, or the majority of them, to set up joint, centralized political and economic organs and administrative structures and to move gradually from a confederation to a federation, but a renewed one. In this case the Armed Forces will remain unified, which will make it possible to conduct their phased reform, professionalization, and reduction in a more organized and painless manner. This, incidentally, would do much to help remove many of the Army's social problems too.

The most undesirable possibility is that the CIS will "fall apart," all forms of collaboration and cooperation between the independent sovereign states will be curtailed, and national armed forces will be formed, based on the troops stationed on their territories.

These are only my conjectures, and I cannot rule out that there could be considerably more diverse possibilities for the development of future events. So we are thinking in terms of the first possibility, which is, in my view, preferable to the second, but in reality, alas, it is the third that is currently "taking shape"...

[Tokarev] ...whereby servicemen and officers: fathers, sons, brothers who are scattered by the whim of military fate across the entire territory of the former Union, will find themselves in different military formations?

[Stolyarov] It is to prevent this that the all-Army conference is to meet in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, with the participation of more than 3,000 delegates. The officers will convey the views of their comrades and colleagues to the presidents and defense ministers of all the sovereign states of the Commonwealth, who have been invited to the meeting. Let us hope that wisdom prevails.

Diversity of Opinion 'Enormous'

PM1501170792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Aleksandr Zyuskevich, deputy chairman of Committee for Work With Armed Forces Personnel, by Vladimir Zelentsov; place and date not given; Officers' Assembly: We Are Not Counting on Like-Mindedness"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Assemblies scheduled for 17 January in the Kremlin may be the first large-scale event organized by the Committee for Work With Armed Forces Personnel, which has replaced the Main Military-Political Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces. Colonel Aleksandr Zyuskevich, deputy chairman of the committee, answers questions on the inaugural meeting.

[Zelentsov] A number of politicians in the Commonwealth have expressed the opinion that the conference, which is being held at such a complex time, will only exacerbate the situation. Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, what do you think?

[Zyuskevich] No, I do not share these worries. The chronicle of events following the Minsk agreements testifies to the fact that the army, which was about to be given hope for a civilized approach to the resolution of its problems, suddenly found itself in the role of a patchwork quilt that is being pulled apart patch by patch. The conference of representatives of officers' assemblies is an event that should remind politicians once again that you cannot resolve questions affecting the lives of millions of people without ascertaining their opinion. If our voices are heard, the seething passions will die down...

[Zelentsov] Certain observers believe that this conference was orchestrated, and that the intention is to use the opinion of the officers' assemblies to achieve specific political ends. What arguments can you counter these assumptions with?

[Zyuskevich] The incipient, constantly accelerating division of the Armed Forces in Ukraine, and the friction generated over the fate of the Black Sea Fleet have again made many servicemen concerned and worried about the uncertainty of their future and the gloomy outlook. The former Ministry of Defense, our committee, and the Russian Government have been inundated with letters and telegrams containing resolutions from officers' assemblies which were not orchestrated by someone high up but by our harsh reality. In this situation, the CIS Armed Forces commander in chief decided to hold an all-army conference in order to hear and sum up the officers' opinion. And that is not an attempt to interfere in politics—it is an attempt to warn hotheads against carving up the Army alive, and to draw attention to a situation that is explosive and liable to result in unpleasant consequences. Although it must be admitted straight out that the diversity of opinion in today's Army is enormous; there is no like-mindedness and there is no reason to count on any.

Officers' assemblies are now being held at all levels—including subunits and units as well as branches of the Armed Forces. Furthermore, a sociological poll will be carried out among the 5,000 conference participants. So that the actual conference can only be seen as the expression of the sentiments that have emerged today in military collectives.

And I will summarize the agenda as follows: The prospects of preserving unified CIS Armed Forces, the problems of military reform, and questions of the social and legal protection of servicemen in the face of the transition to market relations.

[Zelentsov] It was planned that the leaders of the independent states of the Commonwealth would be invited to the conference...

[Zyuskevich] They have all been invited. At present I know only of the Russian leadership's firm resolve to come to the conference. But after all, there is still time. We wait in hope...

Yeltsin May Speak

OW1501205092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By Mikhail Mayorev and Igor Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commanders of military districts, fleets and units elected delegates to an all-Army meeting of officers scheduled for January 17 arrived today in Moscow.

DP [Diplomatic Panorama] has learned from reliable military sources that the meeting will be preceded by a series of preliminary discussions at the defense ministry. The one planned for 10 a.m. on January 16 is to be

chaired by Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. Unconfirmed reports say president Boris Yeltsin of Russia may speak at the session to present his perception of what was the Soviet Union.

Viability of Separate Armed Forces Idea Viewed

PM1501145192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 2

[Commentary by Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev under "Notes of a Military Observer" general heading: "Do the Peoples of the Commonwealth of Independent States Need Eleven Weak Armies?"]

[Text] [The article is accompanied by a box containing four "spot" statements as follows: The "privatization" of divisions will mean an end to modern hardware.

[We cannot manage without satellite communications, but who will launch them?

[There are just 13,000 tanks for the whole Army.

[Will a Commonwealth of "smart weapons" emerge within the armies?]

Representatives of officers' assemblies will soon be heading for the former capital of the former USSR. No doubt, there will be some tough talking at this forum. There are grounds for expecting this. The Alma-Ata and Minsk meetings seemingly pinpointed directions for obtaining a civilized solution to questions connected with the building of the Commonwealth countries' Armed Forces, but... discord emerged literally right away and has assumed truly serious dimensions. Once again, it is every man for himself.

Of course, one can understand the political leaders' stance. They act in accordance with their understanding of the interests of the states they lead. And, of course, it is their business to resolve and agree. It is the military's business to serve the people. Nevertheless, the military are entitled to expect a competent and balanced solution to military questions. Do all politicians take due account of the professional side of the matter?

Let us suppose, for example, that we are viewing things from a purely military aspect: Is there any need to be hasty in creating separate armed forces? What will the sovereign states and their peoples gain from this?

The first question to arise is this: Who wants to attack the said republics? Russia? Bulgaria? Czechoslovakia? The United States, maybe? Absurd. But even if I were to agree with this, it would seem abundantly clear that only joint armed forces could guarantee protection against any aggressor. Only joint armed forces would be capable of averting conflict or war.

Now let us look at the reality.

Any intention by, say, Azerbaijan to "privatize" (experts calculate that there are four motorized infantry divisions, 80 fighter aircraft, 100 ground-attack aircraft, and the Baku military and naval base located on that republic's territory) and maintain even a small modern, and I stress, modern army is pure self-delusion. Military specialists, including foreign military specialists, forecast that Azerbaijan's ground forces' combat hardware and arms will be unserviceable within a year. Not forgetting the lack of specialists, service bases, spare parts, tools, and accessories kits... Not only will hardware become unserviceable, it is also becoming obsolete—fit only for scrap metal—in the face of new generation arms and nontraditional means of waging armed struggle. It is hardly worth banking on purchases from abroad or on training military cadres in other countries. We know that even Iraq, with its billions of petrodollars, was unable to set up any kind of modern army.

In short, no one republic has the capacity to set up an army which could reliably protect it against a forceful aggressor. Meanwhile, the opportunity for deploying arms in civil warfare to settle disputes with neighbors will increase with the emergence of republic armies. Analyzing last year's results, the Russian president cited our success in resolving vital processes without bloodshed as a point of achievement in our development. But this was only the case in those regions without armed formations. In places where such formations did exist, there was and continues to be the most genuine, bloody warfare. People are dying in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh. Reports from that region do not just resemble frontline dispatches—that is what they are! Daily losses in these two "hot spots" exceed Soviet troop losses in the worst days of Afghanistan. Just imagine armed formations equipped with jet propelled salvo fire systems, modern self-propelled artillery devices, and ground attack aircraft with new generation bombs... Tbilisi and Stepanakert would be nothing but ruins.

And not only in the Transcaucasus is just such a terrifying scenario feasible. I personally do not envisage the worst in relations between Ukraine and Russia, which are bound together by a specific friendship. The people, culture, and traditions of these two Slavic states does not permit such a scenario. But then, who could have predicted that Serbs would go to war against Croats? Right now that region is witnessing a war using modern means of armed struggle, and mercenaries are being hired. Likewise, could it turn out that Ukraine's hastiness in forming its own army will backfire on us all, but especially on that republic?

Of course, Ukraine is not Azerbaijan: It has even greater resources at its disposal. Troops stationed there number over 400,000 men (according to expert statistics), and there are 20 divisions—motorized, tank, and border defense—and 850 aircraft. Add to this around 60 large surface vessels and around 20 submarines from the Black Sea Fleet. Two aircraft carriers are under construction in the Nikolayev shipyards, one of which—the "Varyag"—should start undergoing sea trails as early as 1993.

So it seems that Ukraine has everything necessary to create a powerful and modern army. It has even been argued that some country's armies are somewhat smaller than it. That may be so. But Ukraine's military infrastructure took decades to develop. Troops stationed in Ukraine were maintained through the center. They cannot function effectively without many of the elements of the former Soviet Union's infrastructure. When, on a wave of independence fever, the Ukrainian parliament approved a proposal to set up its own 420,000-strong army last year, it seemed that the republic was anxious to set up an army bigger than that of Britain or the FRG. Financial expenditure on such an army at current prices is approximately 400 billion rubles [R]. Already Ukraine has other plans—to maintain a slightly smaller army. In which case, it is unlikely to become a strong element in the CIS' [Commonwealth of Independent States] defense potential.

Recently, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov noted that the republic (that is, Ukraine), while claiming to have the largest air force in Europe, does not have a single aircraft construction plant. In three months—six at most—its aircraft will simply be unable to fly: there will be no engines, spare parts, components, generators, or even wheels. Whether or not Russia will start to supply these things, and in what way, is not yet certain. The marshal's words should be supplemented with the fact that all fighter pilots are trained in Russia.

One well-known humorist said: People directly concerned with cars can be divided into professional drivers, driving fanatics, and car owners. In the same way, it seems, Ukraine will be the owner of a large aircraft reserve which in no event will become a professional air force. Today, owing to various complexities, flying time for the said fighter pilots is kept to a minimum. Reducing flying time means that pilots are no longer allowed to fly solo—the number of crashes and accidents would rise sharply. Yet flying time has to be reduced.

But these are facts taken out of context, as they say. So now let us take a systemic look at the different elements of contemporary armed forces. Specialists from the General Staff Center for Operative Strategic Research define them as follows.

Above all, it is essential to have modern technology and modern arms. Today, only Russia can boast this. In line with last year's agreements, Russia took some 80 percent of all the former Union's defense enterprises.

Another element: For an Army and Navy to function effectively, sophisticated methods of acquiring information are required—intelligence, communications, navigation, computer technology. Once again, only the Russian Federation's armed forces can envisage this. Why? One satellite link at 1991 prices costs tens of millions of rubles. The cost of launching a satellite ranges from R2 to R7 million. Can Azerbaijan afford this? Even Ukraine seems to be having some difficulty.

No army can get by without reliable systems for controlling forces and weapons. These take decades to set up. Many republics are unable to create such systems, first because of a lack of modern technology, and second because of the expense. The cost of just one integrated command and control facility for an army section runs into several hundred million rubles.

Difficulties could also emerge in the training of military cadres. It is known that 80 percent of higher military training institutes are located in Russia. It could turn out that only this republic will have the benefit of the General Staff Military Academy, which trains specialists for the higher echelons of command.

Now let us turn to infrastructure and mobilization resources. New airfields, roads, and lines of communication are required. Nowadays, during a war, up to 2,000 specialists are needed to conduct large-scale operations. Where can one republic find this number of specialists, and how can it train them?

So we can set up 11 armies, but they will be much weakened. Not just by a factor of 11, but more. Chopping up the unified Armed Forces will have an effect not only in the quantitative sense but in the qualitative sense too.

Let us switch our attention once more to training for military cadres. The planned closure and reprofiling of several military academies and institutes located in Ukraine in connection with practical steps to set up its own army (a measure which, incidentally, is inevitable in the current development of events) will cause irreparable damage to military specialist training for all Commonwealth countries. Experts estimate that it would take up to 15 years to revive—either in Russia or in any other state—a training institute such as, say, the Military Academy for Tactical Air Defense. And the economic costs could run into billions of rubles.

Indeed, will two Black Sea Fleets —the Russian and Ukrainian—be any stronger? After all, Ukraine cannot construct the "Varyag" on its own. Not least because the majority of the ship's component parts are produced in enterprises located in other states.

One more aspect. The United States and Canada have a united system of air defense for the North American continent—NORAD [North American Air Defense Command]. This is more advantageous in every respect. But we, it seems, want to destroy our unified air defense system. Where is the sense in this? The very same Ukraine will have to find a place to conduct field fire. The republic has not a single proving ground for testing troops' air defense missiles. And what about a warning system for missile attacks? All the integrated radar systems are located in different republics.

Some people obviously think that an army is easy to maintain. But it is not enough that the regiments have sworn an oath of allegiance. Tomorrow will bring the most elementary of problems—keeping tanks running when there is no fuel to be had, and so on. And why has

nobody considered the fact that armed forces will have to be built within the framework of agreements concluded by the former Soviet Union. Thus, the CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] Treaty provides for 18,000 tanks in the European part of the country, 10,000 of them on the territory of Ukraine and Belarus. Naturally, Russia cannot be put at a disadvantage. A host of impossible questions will arise if ground forces groupings are set up without a unified command but under the chiefs of staff of 11 separate state armies. International agreements will have to be reckoned with.

In short, only joint efforts by the Commonwealth countries could maintain an armed force equal to the demands of the times. Recently the American Congress finalized expenditure for military purposes. Priority was given to new technology "smart weapons"—an intensive way of developing the armed forces. To embark on this road, what we need, I repeat, are joint efforts by the entire Commonwealth—a centralized military infrastructure and defense industry, unified centers of military command, and a unified system for training military cadres...

Modern armies are certainly beyond the republics' financial capabilities. Take the Polish Army, for example. In 1991 it obtained just 10 tanks and 40 heavy trucks. The Army had too few resources to develop the necessary hardware at home. But they cannot even begin to think about purchasing contemporary equipment abroad. Do our republics really think that they have the means to progress otherwise?

It seems appropriate to quote some figures from the General Staff here. Annual maintenance for one motorized artillery division at last year's prices, with due account taken of depreciation of military hardware and arms, constitutes around R200 million: For an Air Force division, this figure rises to R300 million. This year the cost will increase sevenfold. How much does military hardware cost? At 1991 prices a tank costs around R1.5 million, an infantry fighting vehicle—R1 million, and an aircraft—R10 million. Every 24 hour period at sea for a big ship sets a republic back some R2 million, and the cost of a patrol vessel—R700,000. Overall expenditure by Commonwealth countries would surely exceed the defense budget of the former Union...

I would like to finish where I started. Of course politicians have the last word in resolving any question, including in the defense sphere. But it would not hurt for them to take advice from specialists and professionals. Many processes in the sphere of military building in Commonwealth countries are already irreversible, but many can still be altered. We could still shift to the idea of joint armed forces.

Concern for Future Still Preoccupies Servicemen

Airborne Troops Meet

LD1501191692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1733 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 January (TASS)—A meeting of officers of two airborne troops divisions has expressed concern at the future of airborne troop units stationed on Lithuanian territory in an appeal to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces.

In a document received here, the airborne troops demand that the "question of the status of the Northwest Armed Forces Group be decided" by 1 February, that genuine social and legal guarantees be provided for soldiers, pensioners, and their families, and that a treaty on the withdrawal of troops from the territory of the Lithuanian Republic be concluded by 1 March. They "retain the right not to carry out criminal and antihumane orders regarding the withdrawal and disbandment of divisions" and express readiness "to transfer to the jurisdiction of a government which is capable of deciding the given issues and of providing our social and legal guarantees." This point of the appeal comes into force on 1 March.

If necessary the airborne troops are prepared to adopt "all measures for the defense of the honor and dignity of persecuted officers, up to and including using their professional skills."

Air Defense Officers Assemble

LD1501171292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Anna Shcherbakova]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 15 January (TASS)—Participants in an officers' assembly of the Army air defense directorate which is taking place in St. Petersburg think it is still premature to swear a military oath of loyalty to one people or another. In the opinion of speakers at the assembly, the economic crisis which is gripping the country is developing extremely rapidly but the governments of the countries of the Commonwealth are not in a hurry to undertake coordinated activities.

"We think that before the single Armed Forces are divided, every independent state is obliged to define its attitude to questions of the defense of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and to guarantee the social and legal protection of servicemen," according to an appeal to the CIS peoples, parliaments, and presidents which was unanimously adopted at the assembly.

Officers of a number of units and subunits of the Leningradskiy Military District announced that they intend to refuse to swear a new military oath.

Association Adopts Appeal

PM1501093792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 4

[Report by Captain S. Sidorov: "Internationalist Servicemen Express Their Alarm"]

[Text] A meeting of the Association of Internationalist Servicemen has adopted an appeal to the leaders of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and the leadership of the Armed Forces. The appeal expresses their alarm that several former Union republics are "nationalizing" the military units and combined units stationed on their territories. These actions, the appeal says, will lead to unpredictable consequences and will constitute a tragedy for many thousands of servicemen and their families. The internationalist servicemen have called on the heads of Commonwealth states to suspend the process of splitting up the Armed Forces into national contingents, and on the Army and Navy officers corps to unequivocally express its attitude to the issue of the unity of the CIS Armed Forces.

Media

National News Agencies Discuss United Space

14 Representatives Attend

LD1501121992 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Heads of national news agencies from 14 former Soviet republics, excluding Latvia, are attending a meeting in Moscow to discuss the future of a united information space.

They are representing AZERINFORM (Azerbaijan), ARMENPRESS (Armenia), BELTA (Belarus), KAZTAG (Kazakhstan), KYRTAG (Kyrgyzstan), MOLDOVA-PRES (Moldova), RIA (Russia), SAKINFORM (Georgia), TAJIKTA (Tajikistan), TURKMENPRESS (Turkmenistan), UZTAG (Uzbekistan), UKRINFORM (Ukraine), ELTA (Lithuania), ETA (Estonia).

To improve and not damage what have been created in decades—this is the motto of the meeting of the heads of the news agencies, all former TASS republican branches, excluding the recently created RIA news agency.

Projects, Data Bank Envisioned

LD1501213992 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The leaders of news agencies of the Commonwealth member states met in Moscow today to discuss cooperation between republican agencies and TASS. Their goal is to preserve and develop the single information space on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Speakers at the conference stressed the need to use fully TASS information and technical potential in the interests of sovereign states.

Direct information exchange between independent states through TASS technical channels and the launching of joint information services between TASS and republican news agencies in Russian and English to be routed via a satellite communication system were among specific cooperation projects named by participants in the conference.

They also suggested forming a unique economic and commercial data bank of information received by TASS from republics for use by all Commonwealth news and information services. Information of this kind is priceless during the period of forming market structures throughout the Commonwealth.

Ignatenko Addresses Meeting

LD1501140992 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 15 (TASS)—TASS Director General Vitaliy Ignatenko addressed the meeting of information agencies of the former Soviet republics and called the participants to preserve the unified information domain on the basis of equality, solidarity, and mutual support.

Ignatenko suggested deciphering the abbreviation TASS as Telegraph Agency of Sovereign States and called to consider all TASS facilities as a material foundation for cooperation between the news agencies of independent states. "We see it our task that each news agency (of independent states) be represented on information market all over the world", Ignatenko said.

Ignatenko said creation of a global satellite network is coming to an end. It will allow the news agencies to communicate directly not only with Moscow and the capital cities of the former Soviet republics but with the whole world as well. The system of global information service will make it possible for the agencies to spread information in their languages practically everywhere without interference or control of any kind, he said.

Economic & Social

'People Want Intelligent, Honest Patriots'

PM1501142592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 pp 1, 6

[Article by Vyacheslav Gerasimov, Anastasiya Guseva, and Irina Savchenko: "1991: Personality of the Year As Measured by Society"]

[Text] Tribunes of the people, top people, and leaders... They appear before us sometimes as confident, sometimes as extremely cautious, sometimes as sensible, sometimes as reckless. Their colorful figures either arouse sympathy and favor by virtue of their concern for the people, or evoke contempt and indignation because of their lust for power and fanaticism. How have current leaders secured the people's recognition, what has helped them to win prestige, what is the secret of their success?

For well known foreign politicians the common factors are above all great professionalism in their activity, competence, decency, and concern for the good of the country and the people. As a rule, a leader's personal and professional qualities are supplemented by the specific features of his character. For instance, G. Bush is characterized by persistence, pragmatism, a readiness to compromise, and a responsive attitude toward people. L. Walesa is swift in his reactions, expansive, and ambitious. J. Delors is scrupulous and frank. H. Kohl is marked by keen political flair. M. Thatcher by a great capacity for work, composure, and elegance.

What typifies the leaders of our homeland?

Readers named over 150 people as candidates for the title of "Personality of the Year." The names of the people mentioned most often were published in the newspaper for 30 December 1991 and 13 January 1992. As well as people well known in the country, readers also named unfamiliar people. The overwhelming majority of participants in the poll (over three-fourths) named politicians as "personality of the year." They are now in everyone's thoughts, eyes are on them, all hopes are pinned on them... Politicians are in the lead, leaving performers, scientists, cosmonauts, businessmen, and writers trailing far behind. What have they done to attract people so much, what features and qualities do people note in them.

Purely personal qualities are singled out first of all: goodness, honesty, intellectual flexibility, generosity of spirit, charm, modesty, talent, sincerity. Unfortunately by no means everyone mentions qualities needed by politicians like competence, great professionalism, firm convictions, and realism as characteristics of their idols... Why is this? Because of our habit of trusting a specific individual more on the basis of statements and speeches than on the basis of specific actions? Personal magnetism? The lack of the democratic habit of judging first by deeds, and only then by speeches? Questions, questions... Judge for yourselves. Incidentally, in singling out the best human qualities of the contenders for "Personality of the Year," people hope that these qualities will serve the good of the people.

An unexpected result of the poll was that the number of supporters of the leaders who gained most votes—M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, and N. Nazarbayev—was identical (the difference was three to five people). They can all lay claim to the title of "Personality of the Year."

The top 10 also included: A. Nevzorov with 67 percent (relative to the top three), S. Baburin with 48 percent, V. Zhirinovskiy with 29 percent, L. Kravchuk with 16 percent, S. Goryacheva with 15 percent, V. Alksnis with 14 percent, and N. Andreyeva with 14 percent.

Purposeful Man

Boris Yeltsin is a very colorful figure. In readers' estimation, nature has been most bountiful in endowing him with purposefulness, courage, and assertiveness. These were the qualities that were the basis on which B. Yeltsin achieved recognition among the people. Judging by letters, people are extremely impressed by his resolution, firm convictions, and also selflessness, indomitability, and principledness. Men appreciate B. Yeltsin's will, intellectual flexibility, and patriotism, and women like his exceptional qualities and realism. The supporters of the Russian president include residents of all sovereign republics and regions of the Union and people of all ages. Most of his supporters are young people.

"What I like about him is that he is able to overcome his own feelings and forgive other people's mistakes and to take healthy criticism of himself the right way," R. Mogilnikova (city of Bykhov, Mogilev Oblast) writes.

Intellectual Flexibility

Mikhail Gorbachev is a recognized leader of the international community. He became that by abandoning ossified dogmas and displaying staggering self-possession at seemingly the most critical moments of his political activity. Many people are impressed by his humanity and goodness. Some people describe him as brilliant.

Women and men, young people and the elderly, both those who have undergone perestroyka and those who have "not really" done so note his charm: "I am very fond of Gorbachev and I don't think I am alone in this," R. Dereka from the city of Bishkek writes.

Readers note his tolerance, goodness, sensitivity, great culture, self-sacrifice, trusting attitude, and simplicity. Some people regard him as a model of the man of spirit. Most of M. Gorbachev's supporters think that his most vivid character traits are intellectual flexibility, purposefulness, self-possession, and courage.

Internationalist

Nursultan Nazarbayev is regarded as an assured, sensible politician. His most striking character trait is internationalism. N. Nazarbayev's attractiveness is largely determined by his competence, farsightedness, and firm convictions. This is pointed out by representatives of all social strata and population groups. "I envy Kazakhstan's residents such a president. He does not say much, but he does things that are necessary for the republic," V. Urban from Tolyatti writes.

What men find most attractive about Nazarbayev are his professional qualities, whereas women like his personal

qualities. Among Nursultan Abishevich's distinguishing features people mention: wisdom, decency, caution, and common sense. Kazakhstan's leader is supported by representatives of various professional groups and ages. The largest group among them is people aged 51 and more, engineering and technical personal, teachers, and lecturers. The rural population makes up a considerable group.

Journalistic Phenomenon

"God grant success to our dear Glebych, without whom our life, already extremely wretched, would become quite unendurable." So says V. Ulin of Ufa.

Many people would go along with that letter. Aleksandr Nevzorov gets the highest rating after the top "troika of leaders." He is the only one who is not a deputy, not a politician, but a journalist. How do people see Nevzorov? First, he is a great professional, competent and honest. He is trusted. And he is trusted by people spanning the entire age range.

Common Sense and Competence

Sergey Baburin's prestige is based on his firm convictions. This feature of his character is noted by the majority of readers. The qualities most often indicated as evoking a favorable attitude to S. Baburin are his patriotism and competence. "A citizen of our Motherland with a capital M" is how V. Bespalov of Maritime Kray sees him. S. Baburin's strongest social support is among workers, servicemen, and health care personnel.

"He is my political idol," M. Shukyurov writes from Azerbaijan.

Everyone Is Talking About Him

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—just recently no one seemed to know anything about him. Then his sociopolitical star rose. "Everybody is unanimous in cursing him and calling him a fascist or a clown, but, you know, he is the only person on people's lips everywhere—in waiting lines, on transport, and at work. People want to know more about him" (T. Borisova, Klaipeda). Patriotism, purposefulness, and firm convictions combined with personal courage, exceptional qualities, and energy—those are the qualities that attract admirers to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. He arouses particular support and interest among engineering and technical personnel and scientists aged between 31 and 40, and among servicemen and workers in the 41-50 age group; in the 20-30 age group he is supported by students and state apparatus personnel.

Farsighted Flexible Politician

Leonid Kravchuk is singled out for his farsightedness and intellectual flexibility. People like his great culture, erudition, wit, and humor. While noting L. Kravchuk's characteristic fairness, readers give preference to character traits of his such as competence, exceptional qualities, and purposefulness. "L. Kravchuk is not simply 'personality of the year,'" L. Vlasenko writes from Moscow Oblast, "but a national hero." L. Kravchuk's activity meets with most support and backing among engineering and technical personnel and middle-aged people.

Civil Courage

"What a woman! We admire her" (the Ivanovs, the city of Otradnoye, Samara Oblast). "S. Goryacheva will go down in the history of our homeland as the most courageous and honest of all our fellow citizens. You encounter very few people like her among men" (A. Novikov, Moscow).

Anyone is faced with moral choices, but politicians are doubly so—what to say, how to act. For this it is not enough merely to have knowledge, a personal viewpoint, and democratic freedoms. In order to take advantage of all this you need to have courage. Courageous behavior always evokes trust and respect for the individual. The image of S. Goryacheva is a symbol of courage for many people today. She has the reputation of a vigorous, persistent, and resolution politician.

Patriotism

Contrary to the view that politics and morality are incompatible, Viktor Alksnis firmly and adamantly adopts a moral standpoint. As a well known public figure he is primarily marked by patriotism. That is what the majority of respondents believe. The main criteria why people deem V. Alksnis to be "personality of the year" include traits characteristic of his image like modesty and sincerity. In relation to people he is marked by honesty, fairness, and nobility. Ye. Oleynik of Kiev notes that he possesses what is a very rare quality nowadays—altruism. V. Alksnis astonishingly combines the quality of a professional politician—internationalism—firm convictions, courage, farsightedness, and... charm.

A Woman of Firm Convictions

Nina Andreyeva rose to prominence immediately and for a long time. Some people understood and supported her, some people even now doubt whether she is right. N. Andreyeva's convictions do not change—that is her main characteristic and evokes approval and admiration even from those who do not share her views. She is seen as someone of not only principled but also consistent actions, honest, open, sincere, and approachable. Nina Andreyeva's comrades-in-arms sent their collective replies to the editorial office naming her "personality of the year."

The makeup of the next 10 was rather different. As well as politicians, it included representatives of science, culture, and religion. The people with most support were D. Likhachev, B. Oleynik, I. Talkov, A. Tuleyev, V. Fedorov, T. Koryagina, A. Lukyanov, Aleksiy II, A. Denisov, and D. Dudayev.

The results of the poll show that the people want intelligent, honest patriots. And they exist, there are plenty of such people. Their best personal qualities and professional abilities constitute a treasure store for the people.

'Commonwealth of Unions of Writers' Established

LD1601051292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] A considerable period in our literature connected with the former USSR Union of Writers ended with the transformation of that organization into the Commonwealth of Unions of Writers. This decision was adopted at the inaugural conference which took place in Moscow. The new international, interrepublican association has become the successor of the major Union of Writers. It has been proclaimed open for membership by any writers' organization whose activity is not in contradiction to the aims and tasks of the Commonwealth of Unions of Writers (SSP). Commonwealth members can become men of letters of any state.

Agriculture

Goskomstat Says 155 Tonnes of Grain Harvested

OW1501155692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1991, the states of the Commonwealth gathered in 154.7 tons [as received] of grain, IF [INTERFAX] was told in the State Statistics Committee (Goskomstat) of the former Soviet Union. This is one third less than in 1990. The Baltic states reaped 6 m [million] tons [tonnes] last year, Georgia—0.7 m tons of grain.

Russia brought in 89 m tons instead of 116 m tons previously planned. The Ukraine reaped 12 m less than it expected, but the most significant losses were those of Kazakhstan—the harvest there was 58% less against the previous year.

According to Goskomstat experts, in addition to unfavorable weather conditions the drop in grain harvest as influenced by shrinking areas under crop and the lack of organization during harvesting time. In particular, harvest was not reaped at all from about 7 hectares of areas under crop.

State and collective farms sold a total of 39 m tons of grain to the member-states of the Commonwealth as compared with 67 m tons in 1990, including 26.9 m tons of food grain. While the standard per capita consumption rate is 166 kg, the 1991 per capita grain harvest was only 97 kg.

International Affairs

Kozyrev Makes Official Visit to Bonn

Meets Von Weizsaecker

LD1501182992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn, 15 January (TASS)—FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker today received Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, who is here on an official visit.

The press report circulated by the federal president's department notes that the role of the UN Security Council was touched upon in the course of the conversation, and the need was stressed for Russia to assume international commitments. In this connection, Andrey Kozyrev briefed R. von Weizsaecker on the forthcoming second round of the Middle East conference which is being held in Moscow and also on the preparations for the visit by of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to New York and Washington.

The Russian minister of foreign affairs assured the German president that Russia will strictly implement the international commitments assumed by the former Soviet Union; in the first place, those which touch upon the sphere of disarmament and arms control. At issue now is acceptance of the new independent states of the Commonwealth into international organizations, including the United Nations, the CSCE, and NATO. This will further their recognition as subjects of international law with equal rights.

The Russian minister, the statement notes, told the president about the difficult internal political situation in Russia. On behalf of Boris Yeltsin, he thanked R. von Waizsaecker for the efforts being made by Germany in lending help to the inhabitants of Russia, including at the international level. This aid has great significance, Andrey Kozyrev noted. Great hopes are being linked now to the conference in Washington, which is being called to alleviate the situation of the citizens of Russia and of other republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States. However, if the population is to supply itself with foodstuffs, additional technical aid is needed from the West, and the privatization of agricultural enterprises is also required, he stressed.

Holds Talks With Genscher

LD1501154892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn, 15 Jan (TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, who is here on a visit, met with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, head of the FRG's foreign policy department, today. Two rounds of talks took place. First the ministers held a one-on-one conversation then the talks were continued by the delegations.

Hans Schumacher, spokesman of the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, noted in a conversation with the TASS correspondent that a great deal of attention was devoted to European problems, to prospects for the development of the common European process. Genscher again stressed the need for the states which are the successors to the Soviet Union to join in the CSCE process and to be accepted into the Council of North Atlantic Cooperation.

During the closed session, the federal minister drew attention to the danger of the proliferation of knowledge of nuclear technologies and also of the technologies themselves. He spoke in favor of nuclear and nonnuclear states taking a joint initiative to avert this threat. Andrey Kozyrev supported this proposal.

Problems of giving humanitarian aid to the Russian Federation and other republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] were discussed in detail. Genscher pointed out that Germany intends to play an active role in this in the future, too. It is necessary, however, that the appropriate structures acting as partners in receiving humanitarian aid are set up in the former Soviet Union. The minister spoke, in particular, of the activity of the headquarters to coordinate humanitarian aid set up under the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Schumacher noted.

Vitaliy Churkin, his counterpart in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that the Russian leadership highly values Germany's contribution in giving humanitarian aid both on the bilateral and the international level. Judging from the statements by Genscher, Bonn intends to take an active part in the Washington conference, at which the representatives of nearly 60 states will assemble. A great deal of aid is coming via the European Community where the role of the FRG is also noticeable. Problems of providing aid will be discussed also at the G-7 meeting which will take place in Munich this summer. Genscher stressed that all the problems connected with granting aid should be resolved jointly with Russia and other republics of the CIS.

News Conference Held

LD1601112492 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Sosnovskiy, Viktor Chistyakov, and Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn January 16 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has expressed deep satisfaction with the results of his talks with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev that ended in Bonn on Wednesday [15 January].

Speaking at a joint news conference, Genscher said he had informed Kozyrev about Germany's concept of cooperation between European states and organisations,

including the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the North-Atlantic Cooperation Council, the European Community and the Council of Europe.

Both ministers agreed that former Soviet republics should join the CSCE process and become members of the North-Atlantic Cooperation Council to ensure stability in Europe and create a single security space from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

Genscher stressed that the Commonwealth states should not only ratify but fulfil the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe.

He said Russia and Germany will intensify talks on troop reduction in Europe and draw up relevant documents to be approved by a CSCE summit meeting this summer.

Speaking about Germany's initiative to eliminate small-range nuclear missiles and nuclear artillery shells, the German Foreign Minister stressed the need to begin talks on these issues as soon as possible.

Genscher also called for the earliest possible development of an international convention on the non-proliferation of know-how to manufacture weapons of mass destruction. The document will provide a sound legal basis for the world community's efforts to stop "brain-drain" and prevent the spread of military know-how.

Genscher and Kozyrev agreed to build a direct telephone line between the Russian and German Foreign Ministries to promote closer bilateral relations.

Kozyrev said he fully supported Genscher's initiatives, which could be viewed as a joined communique on the results of their talks.

Kozyrev stressed that the Russian leadership remains adherent to the joint declaration signed last autumn in Bonn, including Article 12 urging both states to cooperate to restore the republic of Russian Germans in the Volga region.

He said a relevant decree is now being drawn up by the Russian president. At the same time, he warned against hasty decisions on this issue, which could infringe upon the rights of other ethnic groups living in the region.

Kozyrev proposed to set up a joint Russian-German commission to carry out the programme.

He also expressed gratitude to the German Government, business community and the German people for their large-scale and timely aid to Russia.

On Wednesday, Kozyrev ended his visit to Germany and left for Moscow.

Khasbulatov Writes to Georgian Leaders

PM1601085792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Letter "To the Georgian Leadership" from R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, under the "Hotbed" rubric]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is attentively following events in Georgia, which is connected to Russia by genuinely fraternal relations that have lasted many centuries. We observed with bitterness and bewilderment President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's domestic policy, which violated human rights and stifled the rights and freedoms of his own citizens, through whose will the president came to power.

The Supreme Soviet was particularly worried by President Gamsakhurdia's policy concerning South Ossetia, as a result of which around 100,000 Georgian citizens who are Ossetians were forced to become refugees on the territory of the North Ossetian Republic, that is, Russia. You know how densely populated North Ossetia is, and what serious upheavals this unnatural migration is causing. As a result thousands upon thousands of people are being deprived of their housing, a proper diet, and medical assistance. And what psychological suffering people who are deprived of their native land endure!

In addition, some of these people have been forced to settle on the lands of Prigorodnyy Rayon, which are disputed by the Ingush, thus exacerbating interethnic conflict and hindering the possibility of a peaceful decision being reached by the interested parties. All this has forced me to write you this letter, dear friends, in the hope that the new Georgian authorities do everything they can to return the South Ossetians to their Georgian homeland, and in the hope that you are also interested in preserving friendly ties between Russia and Georgia, formed over a period of centuries by many generations of Georgians and Russians.

I wish you success in the work of restoring justice, democracy, and prosperity to beautiful Georgia and the courageous and good Georgian people.

Respectfully yours,
R.I. Khasbulatov
Moscow, 8 January 1992.

Russia Sends Rubles to Georgia To Pay Wages

PM1501111592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Union Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX, and BALTFAX reports]

[Text] In the past few days 320 million rubles [R] in cash has been sent to Georgia from Russia. A further R620 million will arrive very soon.

An INTERFAX correspondent was told this at the Georgian National Bank. This money will make it possible to pay the wages of many of the republic's inhabitants who have not received wages for the past few months. Yet to issue to the population the full wages unpaid over this period Georgia needs R2 billion.

Magadan Oblast Home to Ukrainian Community

LD1601051492 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] A Ukrainian community [zemlyatstvo] has been set up in the Magadan oblast of the Russian Federation where nearly 130,000 of our compatriots live. Its main objective is preserving the national language and culture. For this reason, it is envisaged to open a Ukrainian school and to organize publishing. The program in view will be implemented exclusively at the expense of the community. The town authorities refuse even partial financing explaining it by the lack of means in the oblast budget.

Lithuanian Treaty Said to Protect Russians

OW1501234992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2050 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliamentary committee on inter-republican relations Aleksandr Granberg has statcd that the ratification of the Russian-Lithuanian treaty will establish full bilateral relations between the two countries.

Granberg spoke in favor of urgent ratification of the treaty on January 17, noting that it would be easier for Russia to protect the Russian population living in Lithuania. Granberg spoke in parliament Wednesday [15 January] during a preliminary discussion of the issue.

Granberg said that virtually all ethnic Russians in Lithuania are in favor of the treaty's ratification as soon as possible.

Among the key problems of bilateral relations Granberg indicated the wthdrawal of the Soviet Army from Lithuania which, in his opinion, can be completed no earlier than in four years. He also named the issues of citizenship, protection of ethnic minorities' rights in the Baltics, the delimitation and demarcation of the border between Russia and Lithuania, the use of the Klaipeda sea port and ferries between Lithuania and Germany.

Mikhail Aleksandrov, secretary of the Russian parliamentary committee on inter-republican relations, told BF [BALTFAX] that the delay in ratification of the Russian-Lithuanian treaty will worsen the plight of ethnic Russians living in Lithuania.

He also spoke in favor of setting up the Russian consulate in Lithuania within a month after ratification of the treaty.

On January 14 a group of Russian-speaking deputies of the Lithuanian parliament sent a letter to the Russian Supreme Council saying that "ratification of the Russian-Lithuanian treaty will promote further improvement of relations between ethnic Russians, Lithuanians and other nationalities living in Lithuania."

"The ratification will strengthen the legal basis of Russian public organizations in Lithuania and will permit them to better resolve their social, economic and cultural tasks," the letter says.

The Lithuanian parliament ratified the treaty during thc August coup attempt in Moscow.

Official Reviews Outcome of Talks With PRC

OW1501233892 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Report on interview with (Kovochevskiy), director of the Russian Foreign Economic Relations Committee's Asia Bureau, by station reporter (Chalipov); place and date not given; from the "Radio Magazine on Good-Neighborly Contacts Among Close Neighbors" program]

[Text] Russia and China plan to continue the principle of developing mutually beneficial economic and trade relations, as well as other principles laid down by the former Soviet Union and China on developing such relations. This is a major result of the Russian-Chinese economic talks in Moscow. Participants in the talks include Petr Aven, Russia's deputy foreign minister and chairman of the Russian Foreign Economic Relations Committee, and Li Lanqing, China's minister of foreign economic relations and trade. Also in attendance was (Kovochevskiy), director of the Asian Bureau of the Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Russian Federation. Station reporter (Chalipov) interviewed him on the atmosphere of the talks and on his views about the major results of the talks:

The talks with the Chinese delegation were held in a very friendly atmosphere characterized by mutual understanding. The Chinese leaders expressed their understanding of the problems currently facing Russia. One fundamental task of our talks was to transfer documents and agreements on foreign trade signed by the former Soviet Union and China to Russia, because the latter has now essentially assumed all the obligations of the former Soviet Union. Besides, we discussed how to move the two countries' economic and trade relations onto a new track. This is necessary during Russia's transition to a market economy.

We also discussed new commercial relations between Russia and China and reached agreement in principle on relevant issues. We agreed to maintain all the essential elements of documents governing international trade.

These elements include principles regarding most-favored-nation status and various preferential tax and tariff terms. This is how we intend to develop border trade and new economic and trade relations. We also plan to encourage our companies and manufacturers to develop comprehensive cooperative ties with each other.

(Kovochevskiy) added: We agreed to continue the Russian-Chinese talks in Beijing at the end of January and, at the beginning of February, to sign an agreement on economic relations and trade.

Judging by the opinions expressed during the Moscow economic talks, Russia and China plan to actively encourage so-called small-scale trade, in addition to developing trade in accordance with agreements reached by the two governments. Here are (Kovochevskiy's) remarks on this matter:

He said: During the talks, the two sides extensively discussed the development of direct relations between the two countries' manufacturers, the development of border trade, and the establishment of free-trade zones in the border areas. We also viewed other aspects of cooperation and the state of such cooperation. Of course, we sought to forge an economic relationship that is mutually supplementary and beneficial.

Did Russia and China reiterate their intention to continue the work of the joint governmental Economic, Trade, Scientific, Technological, and Educational Committee as they develop their bilateral relations? In response to this question posed by station reporter (Chalipov), (Kovochevskiy) said: Yes, we did discuss this matter at the talks. We basically believe that the question you asked is valid, and that it is necessary to continue the committee's work, albeit between Russia and China. I would like to reiterate that this is acceptable to both sides. I also would like to note that we plan to take specific actions to restore the committee's functions. Of course, those actions will conform to Russia's demands and will ensure [words indistinct] in bilateral economic and trade relations.

Kolokolov Meets With Algerian Ambassador

LD1501173692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—Bilateral relations between Algeria and Russia and future prospects for these ties, as well as several international and regional problems, were discussed at today's meeting between Boris Kolokolov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, and Mohamed Hadj Yala, Algerian ambassador to Moscow. During the exchange of opinions on the latest events in Algeria, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that the political situation will be preserved within a constitutional framework and that Algeria will continue to move forward along the path of democratic reform.

Federation Affairs

Leadership Split Over Economic Reform Process

LD1501122292 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS writer Konstantin Voychekhovich]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—A split between the Russian Government, headed by President Boris Yeltsin, and the republican parliament, caused by different approaches to the economic reform process, seems to be deepening a fortnight after free market prices were introduced in the country.

Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov told the FINANCIAL TIMES on Wednesday [15 January] he insists the Russian Government should resign. "My remarks were not merely improvised. I was careful in what I said", he stressed, reiterating his Monday statement after a visit to the city of Ryazan.

Khasbulatov bitterly criticised the government for the introduction of free market prices, as the move resulted "in an anarchy and uncontrolled price rises". The governmental promise to control the remaining state set prices is not fulfilled, Khasbulatov said. He also blamed the government for "wrong actions" in privatisation reform and taxation policy, which can kill all stimulus for enterpreneurship.

But Khasbulatov's statement was rebuffed by members of the Russian Government and the president himself. "The government is not going to resign", Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said on Monday. "You cannot throw the government away like a pair of old socks", Boris Yeltsin said on Tuesday, adding he would protect the government.

Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev surprised the government by supporting it and calling to refrain "from hasty assessions [as received]". "It is too early to make any conclusion after ten days", Gorbachev said on Tuesday. Free market prices were introduced on January 2.

Some local observers believe the parliament is criticising governmental moves because it does not want to share responsibility for the declining living standards, caused by the unpopular reforms. None of the leading independent economists, such as Leonid Abalkin, Nikolay Shmelev, Yevgeniy Saburov, have yet criticised the governmental reform programme.

Russian trade unions support the reform plan, but criticise the government for tactical mistakes. Free market prices can start skyrocketing as most enterprises and state shops remain monopolists and have no stimulus to increase production, the trade union "TRUD" newspaper, said in a commentary.

Observers also maintain that any inaccurate future move can force Gaydar's team to resign. A monetary reform is sure to be such a move. Though Gaydar stated the

government is not planning the reform at present, he did not exclude the possibility of the move, which he qualified as "the most extreme and forced measure".

A change of government in present-day conditions can bring economy to a complete deadlock, triggering off unpredictable consequences, the "TRUD" newspaper warned. The government must stay, but necessary corrections should be introduced in the reform process, it said.

Split Considered 'Diversionary Tactic'

PM1501160192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 1

[Aleksandr Ilin, A.I., report: "Skirmish on Olympus, or a Diversionary Tactic"]

[Text] The latest emotional outburst about the possible resignation of the Russian Government flustered millions of people. And no wonder—some well-known faces came together in the skirmish that developed around this issue: R. Khasbulatov, S. Shakhray, and Ye. Gaydar.

The first of these, as has recently become the custom in our country, mentioned the resignation of the present cabinet at a meeting he had with foreigners—some Italian senators. The other two immediately tried to repudiate what the chairman of the Russian parliament had said—on our national television screen, of course. In this way, albeit after the Italians and at second hand, so to speak, we too have all joined in the polemic among the top leaders. Like it or not, we have been diverted from our overly mundane and petty cares: Where to get what, how to feed the family, what to do for clothing and footwear for the old folk and the children... There are, it turns out, far more important issues—how and between whom ministerial portfolios are to be shared out, whether the horses should be changed in midstream, etc., etc. You and I are seemingly being invited to take sides and to assess whose logical arguments or emotional epithets are stronger and more weighty. A diversionary tactic is being set up in masterly fashion...

I have already had occasion to write about the incredible calm being shown by the learned officials conducting a bold price liberalization experiment with the Russian population. The impression I get is that they have solved some mathematical problem involving the removal of a certain sum of money from what they suppose are our overly bulging purses. And the fact that as a result of this mathematical operation some real people might be left without a crust of bread or sink into total destitution does not worry our "programmers" in the slightest. And if a critical note is sounded from the parliamentary Olympus, then, of course, it is necessary to repair with all haste to the television studio to issue a resolute counterblast: "Our government has no intention of resigning." And, of course, the blame for all sins (the device is a tried and tested one) is lumped on previous periods and systems: Prices, they say, "are increasing today primarily because the country spent money for a very long time without thinking, and people thought it possible to reduce taxes without cutting back expenditure. Today we must pay for this irresponsible and thoughtless policy" (I cite Ye. Gaydar—A.I.).

To be perfectly frank, it is annoying to read and listen to the same old curses directed at predecessors—these have already become a ritual. All the more so if we bear in mind that the current vice premier himself had the opportunity, albeit not in a decisive way, to exert some influence on the former "thoughtless" policy, indeed his mentors zealously formulated it on the orders of the leaders at the time.

It is annoying, I am sorry, to follow the latest verbal skirmishing over the resignation issue, because questions like this are decided neither in discussions with foreign parliamentarians nor on television screens. During his trip to Bryansk, Russian President B. Yeltsin had already defined his position: "I shall defend the government." Nor is Yeltsin intending to quit his post as head of the government. And regarding R. Khasbulatov's statement, the president had this to say: "We sometimes hear emotional outbursts from such and such a leader. The government cannot change things overnight. It is easier to adopt laws than it is to make them work." Clearly, given the way things are at present, this is how it must be.

Sensations and scandals, of course, brighten up our rather miserable and dull lives. But I would nevertheless prefer the upper echelons to discuss any problems that have cropped up since the start of the current shock reforms in a way that is not simply calculated to grate on our nerves. I would like these problems to be discussed with a view to finding an intelligent and timely way of correcting them and choosing optimum variants. And I would prefer these "contacts with the people" which Russian leaders have been making recently to be undertaken not just for the sake of stirring up the air in the corridors of power, but in order to verify policy against public opinion, which you will not hear in the top people's offices in Moscow. And another thing: It would be nice if these "contacts" were made not after the painful measures have come into effect, but beforehand—while a method of "cure" is still being chosen. After all, there are living people and not just abstract figures behind the experiments that have been launched.

Leaders Criticized as 'Populist Renegades'

PM1501170192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Nikolay Bondarchuk commentary: "Latest Outbreak of Populism Against Background of Empty Shelves"]

[Text] The leap year, judging from its beginning, promises to amply justify the gloomiest predictions that usually greet it. People had not yet had time to recover from the squall of freed prices and had not had time either to sort out their thoughts or their purses before Speaker of Parliament R. Khasbulatov was declaring

that the government is not capable of carrying out reform and the government must be changed.

What has happened? Maybe a wave of mass strikes and protest actions against government policy has swept the country? Or the rally of people supporting a return to a totalitarian communist regime held the previous day in Moscow was seen by the Russian parliamentary leader as a frightening sign? Something extraordinary must have happened for such a drastic statement? Far from it. Quite the contrary. If sociological research is to be believed, for the time being society is ready to make conscious material sacrifices provided that it finally gets out of the trap it was led into by the totalitarian system. In that case what has taken place?

The latest communication between the government and the people has taken place. In this case between Khasbulatov and the workers of Ryazan. It is exactly 180 km from the Kremlin to Ryazan. And an abrupt, 180-degree, turn in state policy. But wouldn't it have been easier to take this short road before and not after the start of the reform, if it is impossible to get to the bottom of what has happened without mass meetings with the workers?

By all accounts the reformers decided to use the glorious communist tradition of holding meetings with the workers as the last argument in their favor. A. Rutskoy only needed to briefly meet the staff of Siberian military-industrial complex enterprises for the demand to scrap the adopted program of economic reforms to follow. To the military-industrial complex' advantage, naturally. They simply did not have time to hush up the scandal, which in democratic states usually ends in the resignation of the government or vice president, before B. Yeltsin's trip to the Volga region materialized out of the blue—and once again statements followed, specifically on the problem of the Volga Germans, which shocked many people both in our country and abroad. Khasbulatov, having gone among the people, also started speaking in its favor.

There is a name for all this—populism. The elementary desire to please and tell the crowd what it wants to hear and not what a responsible politician is obliged to tell his people. While one can still somehow understand and explain the democrats' populist attitudes at a time when they were in opposition, now that authority is utterly and completely theirs the populists' games demonstrate their powerlessness and irresponsibility. There is no need to go to Tomsk, Saratov, or Ryazan to find out how hard the freed prices have hit people—for this one need only look at the contents of one's purse unless, of course, it is bottomless. Serious politicians make no discoveries at either a plant cafeteria or a market—these are all games for party economic-administrative aktivs.

Unfortunately we lack a multiparty system and cannot, as is done throughout the world by voting for this or that party program in elections, demand its unconditional fulfillment. The people who are at the top, while not obeying a party program and their own party discipline, in effect represent nobody but themselves. Hence the populist renegades we are observing. But everything has its limit. Serious politicians who have made up their minds to radically reform society must at least agree among themselves. If they cannot, they should leave or get rid of those who will not agree. If they can, they should act. Agree, clarify positions, remove tension wherever it has arisen, improve the people's lot if the opportunity exists, fight to the last if they know there is no other way—even if they incur the wrath of the people they love so much. But be a team and not francs-tireurs.

Party Support, Opposition to Yeltsin Reported

LD1401202492 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ludmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 14 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the government headed by him may count, as before, on support from "the Democratic Russia" Party, uniting a majority of the democratic parties, although the number of people dissatisfied with the policies of the authorities is rising.

"Democratic Russia is by no means an apologist of the government's policies and does not agree with it on a number of tactical questions, but it does not mean, it should join the opposition", Vladimir Boksyor, a member of the coordination committee of the movement told TASS. Evaluating the process of reforms and making forecasts on the basis of the first ten days of their action will be premature", he thinks. "It is the first government which is none the less functioning", he said.

The main structure of support to government's policies in the provinces will be the recently formed committee of Russian reforms, based on the former headquarers of support to Yeltsin before his election. The regional organizations of the "Democratic Russia" will play the main role in it, Boksyor informed.

The member of the coordination committee criticized the Constitutional Democratic Party for its recent declaration of joining the opposition to the Russian Government and leaving the "agreement on support to reforms", announced by Boris Yeltsin.

At the fifth congress of the people's deputies in September 1991, Constitutional Democrats (Kadets) along with a majority of other parties of democratic orientation had signed a "protocol of intent", pledging active propaganda in support of the proposed reforms. In return President Yeltsin had promised to hold regular meetings and consultations among parties and higher representatives of the Russian state authorities on the most important questions.

"We are compelled to ascertain, all fundamental decisions over last two months were taken and implemented by the president not only without consulting other parties, but also without informing them at all before hand",

the declaration of the Kadets of 9 January states. "President Yeltsin rests upon not on his party, but on his apparatus", co-chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Russia, Oleg Rumyantsev, a signatory to the "protocol of intent", declared.

In circumstances of an increasing dissatisfaction of parties and their keeping away from real politics, the Russian authorities compromised by agreeing at the end of 1991 to inform them about future bills. However, this did not calm down the dissatisfied. The chief opponent of President Yeltsin and "Democratic Russia" is the bloc "People's Consent", which comprises Constitutional Democrats, Russian Christian Democratic Movement (RCDM) and Democratic Party of Russia. The RCDM is going to hold a congress of civil and patriotic forces in Moscow on 8-9 February to form a right-centrist movement opposed to the Russian authorities—an alternative to the "Democratic Russia", in fact. The new movement is most likely to earn support due to increasing dissatisfaction of the population with the government's policy.

Right Offers Yeltsin 'Serious Competition'

PM1501161092 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by observer Leonid Nikitinskiy: "View of the Volga—Whose Groaning Can Be Heard? On the Results of B. Yeltsin's Trip"]

[Text] The dispute between the leaders of the two biggest republics, the two first (among equals) founders of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet was conducted in the past week in tones that sometimes created the impression that any minute now a squadron would split off and the cruisers and submarines would withdraw a couple of hundred meters from the blessed Sevastopol shores and start firing off nuclear torpedoes at each other.

While the Black Sea captains were trying to guess which flag to hoist on their masts, the Russian president, whose own imposing bearing is reminiscent of an aircraft carrier, set sail on a prescheduled route to Saratov, Ulyanovsk, and Nizhniy Novgorod. That is, along the mother Volga, which, as everyone knows, flows into a different sea. And this maneuver was perhaps not without logic, if you remember the rest of the well-known saying: "The Volga flows into the Caspian Sea. Horses eat oats and hay." [sayings generally quoted as examples of truisms].

The motto for the tour—"Support the president, and the president will support you"—amounts, in our view, to an open proclamation of a course of populism, a course that the Russian president is to some extent forced to follow in the conditions that have arisen.

[illegible]'s economic reforms, the success of which [illegible] dubious, but the need for which is indubitable, [illegible] bringing Russia (and the other republics that [illegible] its example in liberalizing prices) to the brink of total lumpenization. This is inevitable both economically, by virtue of the sudden impoverishment of the population, and psychologically: Someone who is deprived of confidence in the future—that is the very definition of the lumpen. Brought to the verge of hysteria, he can be intimidated as easily as he can be encouraged by totally unfounded promises.

Whatever regrets the politicians who have taken on the heavy burden of economic reforms may have on this score, they cannot but take account of the lumpenization factor. And of the real danger of spontaneous or engineered riots in response to the sharp decline in living standards. Serious competition is created for the presidential team by the right-wing opposition, which, riding on the wave of the population's impoverishment, could make attempts to seize power.

The right wing, in the shape of the reemerging "supporters of the socialist choice," Stalinists, nationalists, the United Front of Working People, or Zhirinovskiy's "party," is consolidating, forgetting its internal differences for the time being. It does not matter that this opposition totally lacks any constructive program for overcoming the crisis, all the same it gains the advantage in wholesale criticism of the government's line. There is no need to seek to convince the lumpenized masses of something by force of reason, in fact it is pointless to try; if there is anything that attracts them, it is empty promises—and the more fantastic, the better.

In these conditions the presidential team has to seek new words for dialogue with the embittered population. The carrot of market abundance is too indistinct. The stick is unreliable, and naturally there is reluctance to resort to it. That leaves the path of flirting with the "masses" on the basis of ideas that are remote from economics, but impressive to the lumpen mind.

The president is clearly in a hurry to snatch from the hands of the right-wing opposition some of the banners that are valued by that mind. They include, for instance, the slogans of direct social justice, closely resembling the familiar old policy of leveling; promises to fight to the death against the dimly imagined "mafia," and also, of course, the national idea, seen with a chauvinist coloring.

The falsity of these symbols does not make them any less attractive in the eyes of the lumpenized masses. You cannot leave ammunition like this on the battlefield, however bad it smells: Otherwise the opponents of reforms will use it, without fail. I think it is in this context that we should see the president's truculent remarks about the fate of the Black Sea Fleet and the German autonomous formation on the Volga.

Having made up his mind to unpopular economic measures, Yeltsin cannot, of course, avoid compromises and "waiving of principles." However, if he adopts a course of populism and flirting with the lumpen, Yeltsin could lose the very support that was his strength until recently:

the support of the liberal-democratic intelligentsia, the most highly skilled section of the proletariat, and the engineering community.

This process is boosted by some of the external features of the behavior of the president, whose tone, in his dealings with "the people," fluctuates between condescension and familiarity and whose everyday habits and manners, when on show, also are most impressive to the less educated section of his audience. These features of Boris Nikolayevich have been on display less frequently since his excessive angularity ceased to be masked by the equally excessive smoothness of his age-old rival, who was also his partner on the political swings.

The lack of Mikhail Sergeyevich on the scene is now keenly felt. He is apparently the one man who would have been capable of heading a constructive opposition to a Yeltsin well on the way to populism and keeping the Russian president within the bounds of civilized European political behavior. Gorbachevian opposition of a liberal-centrist orientation could also to some extent have neutralized the destructive and aggressive opposition from the right.

People's Party Demands Government Resignation

LD1601002192 Moscow TASS in English 2250 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vasily Titov]

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS— The People's Party of Free Russia demanded on Wednesday [15 January] that the Russian Government resign as it discredits the very idea of reforms by its unqualified actions, Vasiliy Lipitskiy, the Party leader, told reporters yesterday.

The developments proved the worst forecasts. The governmental reforms now resemble the actions of Valentin Pavlov (former Soviet prime minister) to withdraw all savings from the population, the party leader claimed. The people now associate "democracy" with "anarchy" and a market economy with full impoverishment. Tension in certain regions of the country reached "the boiling point" and possible social upheavals will make any reforms impossible, Lipitskiy said.

"The government of experts is completely divorced from reality and must resign," he demanded, claiming there are forces in the country which can introduce reforms with "a minimum of social losses."

The president should not head the government, as in present-day conditions Boris Yeltsin is not free in his assessions of the governmental plans, Lipitskiy said.

CIS 'Nothing but Fiction'

OW1501180092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the People's Party-Free Russia (PPFR), Vasiliy Lipitskiy, said at a press-conference in Moscow on Wednesday [15 January] that the Commonwealth is "nothing but fiction that does not bind its members to anything." The newly-independent states, he said, have to cede some of their sovereignty and turn some powers over to a central authority which will be able to solve seemingly insoluble problems, including that of the Black Sea Fleet.

The PPFR chairman is in no doubt that the Russian government made a mistake in starting a price liberalization without taking prior steps to demonopolize and privatize the economy and to inject additional supplies into the market. The next few weeks will see a real threat of unrest and complete disillusionment with the policy of reform. "I understand and share ideas expressed by Ruslan Khasbulatov with respect to the Russian government", Mr. Lipitskiy said, calling on the government to step down.

Answering a question asked by an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent, he said that "the cabinet of specialists" may give way to a government formed by the parties which support President Yeltsin's reforms. The PPFR is ready to join such a government and to submit its suggestions as to its composition. Mr. Lipitskiy said the government should be headed by a separate prime minister and not by the president.

Among real dangers Russia is facing now Mr. Lipitskiy mentioned the increasing influence "of Zhirinovskiy-style politicians." According to polling services of the PPFR, up to 20% of voters are willing to vote for Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal- Democratic Party.

Christian Democratic Movement's Credo Aired

PM1501161992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Russian Christian Democratic Movement answers ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA questionnaire under "Political Self-Portrait" rubric]

[Text] 1. Our founding conference was held 8-9 April 1990. Russian and local soviet people's deputies elected that spring initiated the formation of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement (RCDM). We currently have more than 17,000 registered members.

2. The explanation for the RCDM's name is that we are guided by Christian moral and ethical norms in our everyday political activity. We are the "party of honest policies." The RCDM is based on the moral potential of 1,000 years of Christian tradition and culture in Russia and on the best achievements of our country's political and economic thought. Moreover, in our work we draw on the experience of Christian Democratic parties in West and East Europe.

3. Our ideal is a strong, prosperous Russia. The actual forms of the state system can only be finally decided by a democratically elected constituent assembly, which must draft and adopt a new Russian Constitution.

However, a constituent assembly can only be convened if there is social and political stability. At the present time, the RCDM believes that the optimum state system would be a presidential republic with strong central authority capable of implementing radical reforms, with proper local and social self-government to ease the social consequences of rapid economic transformations.

The RCDM is opposed to our country's being broken up into medieval-type principalities, because we are sure that only a strong, united democratic state can protect the rights of all citizens, regardless of their nationality. We are opposed to the idea of national sovereignties, because a state can only have one sovereignty—otherwise it is not a state.

We have always consistently advocated state unity between the three Slavic peoples: Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians. But we are against the forcible imposition of unity and we recognize our brothers' right to form independent states. We believe that common sense will eventually prevail. We will return to the idea of a federative democratic state.

However, we must remember that the Russian Federation's present borders were arbitrarily drawn by communist dictators. Consequently, people living in disputed territories in breakaway republics have the right to decide (by means of an internationally monitored referendum) in which republic their oblasts should be.

4. To use the terminology accepted throughout the world, the RCDM is a moderate-conservative party. Our basic principles are: a strong, united democratic state; the priority of the rights of the individual over the rights of nations or classes; a social market economy—radical privatization, reliance on independent, private economic initiative, minimum taxation, and protection for the domestic market; enlightened patriotism and reliance on tradition; protection for the family and society's moral values. Some of these principles can be found in the programs of other parties, but, as far as we are concerned, they are all based on the Christian philosophy. For example, the priority of the rights of the individual stems from the fact that man is created in God's own image.

Moreover, unlike the majority of newly formed parties, the RCDM has already implemented part of its program adopted in April 1990. The section "Religion and Freedom of Conscience" has been implemented in full: On the initiative of deputies belonging to the RCDM, the Russian Supreme Soviet has formed its own Committee for Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Philanthropy, and Charity; the Russian Federation has drafted and adopted the Law "On Freedom of Religion," which gives broad rights to religious associations; and Christmas has been declared a public holiday.

5. There are RCDM organizations and groups in 153 cities in the Russian Federation and in 30 cities in other republics. The RCDM's biggest, most influential organizations are in central Russia, the Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, the northwest, and the north Caucasus. The RCDM publishes the 16-page newspaper PUT (subscription index no. 50252), as well as a large number of local newspapers.

6. The idea that parties should definitely reflect the interests of specific social groups is a vestige of Marxist-Leninist class dogma. We want to formulate a program reflecting the interests and aspirations of the whole of society, or at least the majority of politically active citizens. We believe that Christian democracy is the most constructive force capable of extricating the country from economic crisis and spiritual ruin. We count on active support from everyone interested in moving away from the stagnant communist system toward a free, stable, prosperous society: newly fledged entrepreneurs, members of the intelligentsia, skilled workers, peasants, servicemen, Cossacks, and many others.

7. Our party's leaders are professional philosophers, political scientists, and economists new to the political arena. Unlike the leaders of many newly formed democratic parties, none of them have ever held posts in communist structures. The RCDM's leaders include: Viktor Aksyuchits, Russian people's deputy, Christian philosopher, and publicist; Vyacheslav Polosin, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, chairman of the Committee for Freedom of Conscience, and member of the clergy; Ilya Konstantinov, member of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and economist; Valeriy Borshchev, member of the Moscow Soviet Presidium, chairman of the Commission for Freedom of Conscience, and human rights campaigner; Gleb Anishchenko, philologist, publicist, and chief editor of the newspaper PUT and the journal VYBOR; Russian and local soviet people's deputies. Despite their lack of experience, the RCDM's leaders possess great political sophistication, which is mainly determined by their Christian approach to dealing with society's problems. Characteristic features of this approach are their willingness to compromise and their treatment of opponents as potential allies rather than enemies.

8. There are, of course, considerable shortcomings in the RCDM's work, which are mainly explained by lack of experience in organizational and economic work.

9. Politicians are ordinary human beings and, in our harsh conditions, they certainly need imagination and a sense of humor—qualities which have always helped people to survive troubled times. As far as erudition is concerned, political activity would be simply inconceivable without it. Any politician who wants the people to entrust him with the reins of government must undoubtedly be well educated.

10. We are realists and soberly assess the political situation and disposition of forces in society. It is hard to make predictions about popularity and influence. Our people still know very little about the platform offered by the RCDM. However, as far as we are concerned, the main issue is not our personal position and selfish, narrow party interests but the good of our people and the prosperity of our great Russia, which we love and for the sake of which we have embarked on this difficult work.

[Signed] On behalf of the RCDM Political Council, A.Yu. Artemov, secretary for political questions

RCDM Secretariat, P.O. Box 73, Moscow, 117321; tel: (095)-338-99-34

'New Russia' Alliance Leading Force by 1995

OW1501230992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Russia's Popular Party, Mr. Telman Gdlyan, said at a press conference on Wednesday [15 January] that the left-centrist alliance, New Russia, would become the leading political force by 1995.

Besides the Popular Party, this 15,000-strong alliance incorporate the Social-Democratic Party, the Peasants' Party and the Social-Liberal movement which is part of the Republican Party.

Mr. Gdlyan said that among the New Russia's chief political rivals are the right-wing movements, led by Nikolay Travkin's Democratic Party, and the Movement for Democratic Reform which he described as "the movement of new party bureaucracy adhering to the old system".

Journalists were informed that the New Russia had set up an anti-crisis committee which would draft alternative economic reforms.

The social-democratic leader, Mr. Oleg Rumyantsev, said that the New Russia intend to form a parliamentary faction.

Justice Ministry Registers 'Conservative Party'

LD1601063192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The Conservative Party of Russia [CPR] was registered at the Russian Ministry of Justice on 15 January. Earlier, this party was known as the Democratic Party. The CPR is headed by Lev Ubazhko who is well-known in the circles of dwarf parties. To assist in democratic changes, to stop any attempts of usurping power by individuals with parliamentary methods, and to facilitate the growth of public wealth are proclaimed as its main goals.

Burbulis Insists Government Enjoys Support

PM1601102592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1,2

[Interview with Russian Federation First Vice Premier G. Burbulis by IZVESTIYA's Vasiliy Kononenko; date and place not given: "Gennadiy Burbulis: I Am Confident of My Confederates' Support; Reforms in Russia Are Irreversible"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] History alone can provide a worthy evaluation of what happened in the Russian parliament on that unlucky day—13 January. Did R. Khasbulatov make a political blunder when he effectively told the president to replace the government? Or was he taking the opportunity to repeat and thus add more weight to his announcement of an in-house scheme [domashnyaya zagotovka]?

Be that as it may, it is important that Russians know today whether these declarations mean that not all the members of Yeltsin's team believe in the business they have started. People, are wondering if it is worth putting up with all this if the incumbent government is only a team of time-servers who are likely to be replace without having improved living conditions. IZVESTIYA's correspondent put these questions to an official who should explain himself to the people on behalf of the government—G. Burbulis, Russian state secretary and first vice premier.

[Kononenko] Gennadiy Eduardovich, this is not the first time that the reform cabinet has come in for harsh criticism, suggesting that this team is not capable of dealing with the crisis in Russia. There has, moreover, been criticism from high-ranking officials within the Russian leadership—Vice President A. Rutskoy, for instance, and Supreme Soviet speaker R. Khasbulatov. Don't you think that there should be a legislative initiative regarding confidence in the present government, in order to take off the agenda the question of "whom the people trust and with whom they are willing to endure the difficulties"?

[Burbulis] I think that, according to the strictest criteria, the significance of such statements is sometimes overestimated. People today are more concerned about practical actions and not about verbal wranglings in the "upper echelons." At the same time, I must answer your specific question as follows. There is enough confidence in the present government, above all because it is led by a president elected and backed by the people, convinced of the correctness, consistency, and irreversibility of the steps being taken to escape from the crisis, and convinced of the joint responsibility that we have assumed as a team. The confidence that the people originally vested in the government is confirmed with every day that passes by the population's reaction to this team's deeds and actions. In this respect it is only necessary to

ponder the capability and destiny of those representative organs of authority that are either advocating or opposing reform today.

[Kononenko] If you are convinced that the people trust you sufficiently and are willing to put up with things for the sake of change, why not clear the way to reform? After all, a vote of confidence in the government would unequivocally answer the question: Which members of Yeltsin's team are "for" the proposed reforms and which are "against" and must withdraw?

[Burbulis] Second [as published], we are convinced that the people are willing not so much to put up with things as to act with the president and the government in the course of reform, however hard things may be. Second, Russians are forming a clear idea in their minds of Yeltsin's team in these difficult conditions far more rapidly than during the formation of the new policy. We have enough indications to show that people see this as a unified team. As for the question of whether it is or is not appropriate to include various officials in this team, this problem should be left for internal qualitative assessment.

[Konenenko] Are you telling each of us to draw our own conclusions as to "who's who"?

[Burbulis] Yes. For greater clarity I can say: When people talk about Yeltsin's team, I always see this not only and not so much as those people working alongside him today, his entourage. I see it in a broader sense. This team includes in terms of their actions and convictions those Russians who have realized the utter degradation and unendurability of the situation in which Russia has found itself. These being the specialists who view the reforms as their own, the public and political people and structures who are not flying around seeking cheap prestige but working to revive Russia with the president, and, last, those of Boris Nikolayevich's comrades-in-arms who, regardless of the significance and nature of the post they hold, are promoting the reforms. This team has more and more supporters and more and more confidence in the irreversibility of the reforms that have been started.

[Kononeko] Nevertheless, to what can you attribute such aggressive statements by the vice president and the speaker of the Supreme Soviet with regard to the government? Personal reasons, attempts to shift responsibility onto the people carrying out the reform program and thus stay aboard the ship in the event of a heavy storm?

[Burbulis] Any politician's behavior can always be attributed to various reasons, interests, personal sympathies or antipathies. It is wrong to equate their statements with commitment to a particular idea or feelings. Today we often deal with politicians who are for various reasons incapable of understanding and accepting the objective logic behind and finding their niche in these reforms, and for that reason they sometimes unload all their pain and their understanding of what is going on into political declarations.

[Kononenko] You know President B. Yeltsin's character well. Do you believe that he could show weakness and resign under the weight of the problems that have befallen him, surrendering, so to speak, the reforms to his critics without a fight?

[Burbulis] Absolutely not. I am sure that we will carry out all the reforms that have been started, as the president sees them today and in the future.

Procuracy Officially Charges Coup Defendants

LD1501183492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today in the Russian Procuracy there was a meeting between the department's leadership and the defenders of the high- ranking inmates of Matrosskaya Tishina [the August coup leaders]. They were told that the investigation had ended, and that the lawyers could start to read through the 125-volume case. It must be said that according to Russian legislation, the lawyers should have been brought into the case as long ago as the end of August.

Meanwhile, Anatoliy Lukyanov has announced that he is prepared to begin a hunger strike in the prison, in protest against the violations of the law that in his view are being committed by the investigation.

All 12 defendants were officially charged today. The Procuracy is asking the court to convict them of plotting to seize power. However, no such article exists independently in the Russian Criminal Code.

Defense Holds News Conference

LD1501220192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By KRIM-PRESS correspondent Vadim Malyutin]

[Text] MOSCOW, Jan 15 (TASS)—To delay the trip which, as rumor has it, Mikhail Gorbachev is to undertake abroad, in order to ensure that he turns up at the Procurator's Office and the "Matrosskaya Tishina" prison in the course of the investigation of the State Emergency Committee [SCSE] affair—this idea was the leitmotif in the speeches made by the personal lawyers of Yanayev, Pavlov, Shenin, and Kryuchkov at today's news conference at the central house of journalists.

"Perestroyka, which began and has been continuing up to this day under the mark of Judas, has failed to ensure compliance with the constitutional and legal norms in our country," said Yu. Ivanov, V. Kryuchkov's lawyer. As stated by the lawyer, he has unrefutable evidence that

the bugging of the accomodation, work premises, and telephones of people's deputies (which is one of the things his client is accused of) had been carried out before the August putsch with the sanction of the former USSR president. "Kryuchkov is a man with clean hands; his actions on 19-22 August can be described only as the attempt to protect the results of the nationwide March referendum, in which 70 percent of Soviet citizens spoke in favor of preserving the Union," exclaimed the lawyer.

The lawyer K. Solovyeva, who resolutely defended the interests of V. Pavlov, was perhaps closest of all to the essence of the 125-volume case of the "SCSEists." She advised that in the course of the protracted investigation, not a single face-to-face confrontation was held, and the counsels for the defense still do not have access to a single one of the documents cited by the prosecution. However, limited to this information on the progress of the "case," Solovyeva made a fiery speech on the need to bring Gorbachev to court.

More rhetorically than ever, these same ideas were set forth by the lawyer A. Khamzayev, whose trembling hands immediately brought to mind the colorful image of his client on the television screens. Khamzayev's original idea of the state being a fortress and that G. Yanayev was in August only trying to defend it by legitimate measures, received the high approval of the hall.

The atmosphere of the news conference relaxed somewhat after the speech by the lawyer P. Krayniy, representing the defendent Shenin. With incomprehensible nostalgia, enumerating all the momentous dates from the rich party biography of his client, the lawyer drew a line under the discussion of... Gorbachev. He proposed the option for the general secretary of "keeping him in the country by legal means," wittily noting that this should be done on the same basis as that on which the Communist Party stopped people going abroad for 70 years.

Gorbachev Interrogation Demanded

OW1501220392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The lawyers of the main figures accused of attempting a coup d'etat in the USSR last August told journalists in Moscow that Mikhail Gorbachev should be interrogated and denied exit abroad until the putsch case is closed.

Oleg Shenin's lawyer Pavel Krainiy said a request for his client's confrontation with Gorbachev had been rejected by the investigators. He qualified the charges brought against Shenin as "absurd."

Klavdia Solovyeva, the lawyer of ex-Premier Valentin Pavlov, said that the investigation had produced 125 volumes of documents that needed at least one year to be thoroughly analysed.

Lawyer Yuriy Ivanov, who defends Vladimir Kryuchkov, said his client had acknowledged that he had committed a series of anti-constitutional actions as chief of the KGB, but that he had been absolutely sure he was acting right, which ruled out the question of repentance. Kryuchkov's eavesdropping on the conversations of some parliamentarians and government officials had been authorized by Gorbachev, the lawyer said.

KGB's Surveillance of Yeltsin, Others Noted

924B0197A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 7 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Nadzharov under the rubric "The Kremlin's Secrets": "Kryuchkov Kept Yeltsin Under Observation"]

[Text] *The procuracy maintains that it has found secret documents showing that the KGB had Gorbachev's political opponents under surveillance, and that these documents bear the unambiguous brief instructions of the former USSR president.*

This explains to a certain degree the questionable manners of B. Yeltsin, who literally expelled M. Gorbachev from his own office in the Kremlin several days before the agreed-on date.

It is quite possible that the fact of illegal surveillance of his rival and other opposition activists was one of the major topics of discussion during the nine hours of negotiations between the two Soviet leaders, during which Gorbachev asked Yeltsin to not persecute him after his resignation.

It is not known whether the president of Russia knew at the time of these documents, taken from the safe of V. Boldin, the USSR president's former chief of staff, who is now the subject of criminal proceedings related to the August 1991 putsch and who, it is now becoming clear, had been carefully collecting "compromising material" on his boss. Until now these papers were in the possession of an investigator working for the recently liquidated USSR procuracy. A few days ago, during the transfer of duty to Russia's General Procurator V. Stepankov, he also had to hand over these long-concealed documents. There is no information indicating that M. Gorbachev did not notify B. Yeltsin that his telephones were tapped.

The papers in question are top secret KGB documents: operational reports of surveillance of the daily life and activities of the Russian leadership and some people's deputies.

"The most amazing thing," says the former first deputy chief of the department for especially important investigations of the all-Union procuracy, Vladimir Kalinichenko—who, together with Telman Gdlyan, another famed prosecutor, also ended up in Boldin's dossier—"is that Gorbachev was doing something no experienced

bureaucrat would dream of doing: signing and putting written comments on top secret documents—direct evidence of illegal activities."

The opinion in the Russian procuracy is that there are grounds for an investigation. Where may this lead? Article 170 of the RSFSR Criminal Code envisages punishment for abuse of official position, up to a prison sentence.

This makes it a special case in the legal sense, because Gorbachev did not even once use the material obtained through illegal means. Although the information specially prepared in this way and obligingly supplied to him by former KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov and presidential Chief of Staff V. Boldin of course created additional motives for his confrontation with the Russian leadership and the general collapse of the power in the country.

Experts believe that all of this was being done in order to draw M. Gorbachev into an irreversible process of confrontation with B. Yeltsin, and thus prod him into heading an antidemocracy coup, or at least into supporting the junta in some form or another. When this did not work out, the USSR president himself ended up under arrest in the Crimea.

Alksnis Gives Details

PM1401111992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 1

[Report on interview with Viktor Alksnis, member of the All-Russian National Union Coordinating Committee, by S. Karkhanin; date and place not given: "Seamy Side of Sensation. Document From Safe. Viktor Alksnis Demands Clarity"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] "Yeltsin Was Under KGB Surveillance" —that was the sensational headline with which newspapers prefaced their recent articles saying that the Russian president's telephone calls had been secretly tapped and reports on them then given to M. Gorbachev. The articles' authors concluded that the sharp end of the illegal surveillance was aimed against democratic leaders. However, was that really the case? The facts set out in a deputy's question raised by Viktor Alksnis, member of the All-Russian National Union [Vserossiyskiy Obshchenarodnyy Soyuz] Coordinating Committee, and sent to the Russian general prosecutor make us doubt that.

Here is what V. Alksnis says:

[Alksnis] I was told that the Russian Prosecutor's Office had material showing that, after I had sharply criticized the country's president from the USSR Supreme Soviet rostrum 18 November, he had ordered a secret tap on my telephone calls. M. Gorbachev received the information collected by the "monitors" in the form of "digests"—in other words, diaries containing my most important statements—and made his own notes on the sheets.

Of course, I was not the only object of such close interest on Mikhail Sergeyevich's part. As far as I know, similar material about highly diverse people filled eight large safes kept by the USSR presidential apparatus. The same source close to the Russian Prosecutor's Office said that those who were bugged included representatives of all political camps: Yeltsin, Koryagin, Kogan, and Petrushenko... It is interesting that the information obtained revealed a number of people's obvious lack of moral scruples. Judging by the information gathered, one of them—who was, incidentally, M. Gorbachev's close comrade-in-arms—passed state secrets to Western countries' representatives. On learning of this from surveillance material, M. Gorbachev personally promised to investigate fully, but seems to have done nothing. Another of the USSR president's high-ranking close associates received a total of $60,000 from foreign correspondents for helping them interview Mikhail Sergeyevich...

If everything I have said is true, and it most likely is, instances of surveillance and bugging will hardly be made public at the State Committee for the State of Emergency trial: Too great a scandal might blow up and it would affect many political leaders still in power. It is quite possible that material kept in secret safes will simply be destroyed. That is why I sent my deputy's question to the Russian general prosecutor so that he can confirm or deny my information. My question was sent 20 December and has hitherto remained unanswered. If V. Stepankov prefers to keep quiet, I think I can say that this indirectly confirms the veracity of my source of information and the correctness of my fears for the safekeeping of material collected illegally that provides evidence of gross tyranny and corruption in the top echelons of power.

Yeltsin Defense Adviser Holds News Conference

Views Russian, CIS Armed Forces

LD1501175192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1619 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—"A Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces might be set up in Russia only in an extreme situation," Colonel-General Dmitriy Volkogonov, adviser to the Russian president on defense questions, stated today at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. The news conference took place at the Russian Federation government press center.

Without excluding the right of the independent states to their own armies, Dmitriy Volkogonov said that the creation of united armed forces is the most promising solution for the problem of the Commonwealth's security.

"The Army is now at a crossroads," Dmitriy Volkogonov said. "Its appearance on the political scene and the convocation of an all-Army conference of representatives of officers' assemblies is a forced phenomenon. The destiny of the Soviet Army and Navy and the resolution of the social and legal protection of servicemen largely depend on whether the leaders of the Commonwealth states reach agreement on defense questions."

Solution May Take 2 Years

OW1501190992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President's military adviser, Gen. Dmitriy Volkogonov, said at a press conference in Moscow today that it would take about 18 months to two years to solve all the problems concerning the status and role of the armed forces of the former USSR. He thought the former commanding structures should be preserved during the transition period and that all disputed issues should be resolved by a special committee.

He said the majority of Commonwealth republics supported the idea of a NATO-type defence alliance. In his opinion, the Commonwealth should have allied forces about 1.5 million strong (45-55% of the present-day strength), comprising nuclear, air and naval forces and special troops. This, the general thought, would be the optimum decision.

He said Russia might end up having to form its own armed forces if other Commonwealth states do so. But he emphasised the restraint shown by the Russian government which had so far been refraining from taking any steps to that end.

Gen. Volkogonov was very critical of Ukraine's plans to destroy two aircraft-carrying cruisers which are under construction in the republic at the moment. Their construction had been financed by all union republics, he said, which meant all of them had to decide what to do with the ships.

Answering a question asked by our correspondent, the general said the crisis in Russia would not reach its lowest mark before autumn. "If the people manage to get through that difficult period of transition to market economics," he said, "the programme of the Russian government will begin to work."

Nuclear Specialists Viewed

LD1501175892 Berlin ADN in German 1644 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—Dmitriy Volkogonov, the military adviser of the Russian president, has called for a defense alliance between the member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) based on the NATO model. Speaking to ADN, he said that there will however initially be a transitional period of up to two years during which the old structures must remain in place. [passage omitted]

The Russian military expert criticized the attitude of the Ukraine. In his view, it will not be able to carry out its planned reforms if it maintains an army of half a million men and 30 percent of the Black Sea fleet.

Volkogonov also said that at present many nuclear specialists in the CIS are receiving invitations to work in states that want to build a nuclear weapon. In his view, bans in this connection will not solve the problem. Rather, what is necessary is "to create the right conditions for their work here."

Constitutional Court on Invalidation of Decree

LD1601001792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Video report by correspondent Yuriy Reshetnikov, including recorded excerpts of interview with Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court, identified by caption, by unidentified "Vesti" correspondent in Moscow on 15 January; from the "Vesti" newscast—first paragraph is announcer's introduction]

[Text] Yesterday's decision by the Constitutional Court, which deemed invalid the president's decree on the merger of the security and interior bodies, shows that law and Russia are not two incompatible things. Sergey Shakhray said today that the Russian president and the government will undoubtedly take measures to abide by the decision of the court. At the same, time Sergey Shakhray noted that loopholes in the Constitution allow one to interpret its words to suit the political situation. So how will the court's decision be fulfilled, and what will happen to the people who are affected by it? These are the questions that Yuriy Reshetnikov took to the news conference held by the lawyers today.

[Reshetnikov] Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court, stressed in an interview with "Vesti" that the decision of the court to deem invalid Yeltsin's decree on the setting up of the RSFSR Ministry for Security and Internal Affairs has been aimed not against the president, but for his protection. The main guarantee that this decision will be observed, according to Valeriy Zorkin, is the mood of society itself.

[Zorkin] If society rejects this new option, I think nothing will save either the president, the legislators, or the Constitutional Court.

[Reshetnikov] From the moment the court's decision was made public, Yeltsin's decree has thus lost its judicial force, and is deemed invalid.

[Zorkin] All legal relations created on the basis of the decree have also been revoked, and everything has come back to its original state. In other words if, say, a new person had been appointed to the post of the new

minister, the minister would not have legally existed, as the ministry itself does not legally exist.

Shakray: 'Imperfect' Constitution

OW1501215092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president and government will undoubtedly implement the decision of the Constitutuional Court which has qualified as invalid Boris Yeltsin's decree on the formation of a ministry of security and internal affairs, Russian Vice Premier and state legal adviser Sergey Shakhray announced on Wednesday [15 January] on behalf of the Russian president.

Mr. Shakhray expressed regret about the fact that the Constitutional Court was guided by political and ideological considerations rather than legal and constitutional aspects.

He also said that the current imperfect Constitution gave rise to interpretations depending on the political situation and added that a new constituion should be adopted as soon as possible.

Mr. Shakhray rejected all allegations to the effect that the Russian leaders were trying to curtail the democratic processes. The attempts to oppose the Russian president and his government are far more dangerous for democracy, he said.

Intelligence Service Criticizes Security Merger

OW1501215392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Press-Secretary of the Russian intelligence service, Tatyana Sarolis, described the decision to form a Russian ministry of security and internal affairs, as "juridically invalid." She said at a press conference on Wednesday [15 January] that she was glad the service she was representing was not incorporated.

Answering the IF [INTERFAX] question, Mrs. Samolis confirmed that the Russian intelligence service was checking the reports about Soviet nuclear physicists' plans to work in Libya. She said that no one could keep these researchers from going to Libya but added that "social protection methods" should be used to prevent brain-drain.

Mrs. Samolis said that a merger of her service with the military intelligence service was out of the question. She did not rule out, however, that the intelligence services in some of the Commonwealth states would prefer to use information of the Russian intelligence service instead of setting up similar services of their own.

Future of Constitutional Court Viewed

LD1501221992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday there was an impression that the Russian authorities submissively accepted the decision by the Constitutional Court, which was unanimously against Yeltsin's decree on the merging of the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the special services. However, additional information was received today. Sergey Shakhray, the president's spokesman in this process, said that the court's decision does not yet mean that the decree is no longer valid.

This means that so far it is unclear how the president and the government will act now. This question is very important not only because the fate of the former KGB has a principled meaning for any of us. The body of actual supervision on the constitution has taken only its first steps in our country, where over many years the main law was violated by the authorities. It is not very clear how the Constitutional Court of Russia can guarantee the implementation of its decisions and whether by its powers it really stands to a certain decree above the government and the president. It should be so, if we want a guarantee against violations of the law on the part of anybody. If the first attempt in the history of the Russian Constitutional Court to correct the actions of the president's office is fruitless, then the court will very soon become a fictitious body. It must be remembered that its predecessor, the USSR Constitutional Court, did not become an effective monitoring body for observing laws.

Trade Unionists Picket Government Building

LD1601133692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1136 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Pickets, who lined up today in front of the Russian Government building, demanded social protection of the working people under the conditions of price liberalization. This collective action is being carried out on the initiative of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR). "The trade unions are not at all opposed to market reforms, which are inevitable," the TASS correspondent was told by FNPR Chairman Igor Klochkov. "Our protest has been provoked by the fact that the government has not carried out its promise, prior to the liberalization of prices, to take measures for the social protection of Russians, especially of the needy. We demand the previously proclaimed minimum of social guarantees, strict control over compliance with state regulated prices for necessities, and an expansion of the list of such goods. The present action is a warning to the government that the federation enjoys wide public support and, if need be, is capable of taking more decisive actions."

Taking part in the picketing are representatives of 30 industrial trade unions that make up FNPR, and many regional trade union associations of central Russia. "We want to live normally and work, and not strike," the almost 2,000 pickets chanted.

Protests To Continue 17 Jan

LD1501221892 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia intends to keep its word and launch a mass action on January 17 to protest the government's inability to keep its word and protect people against robber prices.

As the government's failure to take appropriate steps left millions unprotected against robber prices, the Federation leaders reached the final decision to hold a mass protest action across the Russian Federation on Friday [17 January].

Work collectives will decide what form of collective action to choose—a rally, a march or picketing government offices.

In Moscow, the government building in Staraya Square (formerly the Communist Party's headquarters) will be picketed on Thursday [16 January], as the trade unions decided against mixing with the Moscow labour movement which has called a political meeting in Moscow on Friday.

Consider Gaydar 'Liability'

LD1601062692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Representatives of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions and members of the tripartite republican commission have appealed to President Boris Yeltsin that he consider the issue of the liability of Yegor Gaydar, the government's deputy chairman, for the violation of and failure to implement the president's decrees. They are referring to the decrees on price liberalization measures and social partnership and the resolution of labor disputes. The author of the appeal considers that Yegor Gaydar has, by his actions, facilitated the creation of an acute social conflict. TRUD has today published letters on this by representatives of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions and members of the tripartite commission. Let us recall that the Russian Government, entrepreneurs, and trade unions are represented in this commission.

Yeltsin Decree on Formation of Food Stocks

PM1501155392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Decree signed by Russian Federation President Yeltsin "On the Formation of State Food Stocks for the Year 1992," dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 4 January 1992]

[Text] In order to guarantee the supply of food products to children's and medical establishments, to the disabled and war veterans, and the delivery of food to the regions of the Far North and the regions which have suffered from nuclear fallout, as well as the creation of state food reserves during the period of transition to market relations, I resolve:

1. To introduce for the year 1992 minimum mandatory deliveries from all landowners and land users engaged in agricultural production (apart from citizens possessing personal subsidiary plots, horticultural and truck gardening associations, dacha cooperatives, nonagricultural enterprises, subsidiary farms of establishments, enterprises, and organizations, as well as other farms which do not produce commodity agricultural output), of sugar beet, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit up to 25 percent in volume, of oilseed up to 30 percent, of grain up to 35 percent, and of milk, livestock, and poultry—up to 45 percent of the average annual production of such products over the years 1986-1990, and for peasant (private) farms up to no more than 25 percent of the specified output which they are producing.

2. To institute remuneration by the procurement personnel for output delivered as part of mandatory deliveries according to prevalent market prices effective at the place of purchase at the time it was made, and that it is bought on a contractual basis.

3. That the government of the Russian Federation should:

ensure the creation in 1992 of state food and agricultural raw materials reserves from mandatory deliveries and additional purchases from producers, items imported from abroad and from the sovereign states—the former Union republics—and from purchases at trade fairs, commodity exchanges, and other sources;

confirm in the space of a month regulations governing a contract system for purchasing agricultural products and foodstuffs;

guarantee state support for agricultural and processing enterprises and peasant (private) farms, delivering products to state reserves;

devise a package of economic measures to attract additional agricultural raw materials and food to the state reserves;

create the necessary additional market structures to organize purchases and the formation of state food reserves;

resolve immediately a package of questions connected with purchases of imported grain, foodstuffs, and food raw materials in 1992.

4. To institute material liability for the producers and procurement officers for nonfulfillment of mandatory deliveries of agricultural products and food to the state reserves:

for refusing to conclude contracts and for not fulfilling contractual obligations in respect of deliveries of agricultural products and food, the producers pay the procurement officers a penalty commensurate with the value of the undelivered products at prevailing market prices obtaining at the place of purchase;

a fine of the same magnitude is exacted from the procurement officer and food reserve holder for refusing to receive agricultural products and food prepared for delivery in accordance with an agreed timetable.

The indicated fines may be exacted on a nonacceptance basis for a period of two months after the right to make the demand arises.

The payment of fines and recompense for losses do not exempt the suppliers and transport organizations from carrying out the contracts they have concluded.

5. The decree becomes effective as soon as it is signed.

Russian Federation president, B. Yeltsin, Moscow, The Kremlin, 4 January 1992

Rutskoy To Return to Work Following Treatment

LD1501184692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1357 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy should be coming out of the hospital, where he has been undergoing a preventive examination for treatment of wounds received in Afghanistan, by the end of this week, and start working next Monday [20 January]. The possibility is not ruled out that Aleksandr Rutskoy will also take part in the work of the All-Army Officers Assembly. The TASS correspondent learned this from circles close to the vice president's entourage.

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin Addresses 16 Jan Parliament Session

LD1601101592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0808 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Address by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman; esteemed People's Deputies; members of the government who have been invited:

On 2 January, economic reform began in the Russian Federation. I consider this event to be of fundamental significance. Following many years of talk about the necessity for it, and repeated attempts to block change, we have at last started moving forward. I categorically disagree with the assertion that this is another experiment. On the contrary, for the first time we have put an end to this flawed practice and have embarked on a path leading to a civilized world.

It is also of considerable significance that the tough and painful measures proposed by the government were supported by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. It is not easy for anyone today, but the main trials have fallen to the lot of the ordinary citizens of Russia. I have just returned from a trip around Russia and was able once again to ascertain just how difficult it is to feed a family and to bring up children, just how grave the lot of pensioners. And yet, on the whole, people are not losing hope or faith—the Supreme Soviet, the president, and the government are not standing idly by. There is an understanding that we must endure, must make certain sacrifices. The most important thing is that these should not be in vain and that they should bring us to a normal, peaceful life.

Since the start of the year, prices have been freed throughout Russia and the other countries of the Commonwealth. As I expected, this has been a very painful measure. The population has taken it bravely, as they say, gritting their teeth. We honestly believed that there would be this kind of reaction, that the Russians would display endurance. Against this background, the manifestation of confusion and even panic on the part of a certain section of representatives of the authorities, public figures, and also the mass media looks particularly out of place. It is simply obscene to make capital at this time out of the difficulties of the first steps of the reform, to strive to disorganize this process for trivial political aims.

Reform has not yet become irreversible, and it is not difficult to wreck it. If we lose the thread for getting out of the crisis, we will simply intensify the ordeal for our long-suffering people. All the same, sooner or later, we will without fail return to this path we are taking today.

But reform has been under way for half a month already. It is early to speak of results, but it is possible to draw some preliminary conclusions.

We all know that the economy of Russia is organized contrary to elementary common sense. But, precisely during these January days, we have seen how sick the economy is; how profound are the stereotypes of antimarket economic behavior, and just what a heavy legacy we have inherited. The development of the market is taking place under extraordinarily difficult circumstances: a profound economic crisis; the disintegration of the Union; the exacerbation as a result of national, military, and interrepublican problems; the significant influence of a lumpen mentality; an elementary inability

to work under new conditions; the opposition of mafia structures, which are seeking to preserve their ruling position in the sphere of distribution; out and out sabotage; and the ideological opposition of the former nomenclature.

It also has to be said that over three years the Russian Federation's gold reserves in the country have fallen from 2,300 tonnes to 230 tonnes. They have sold off Russia's gold—around 2,000 tonnes in just three years.

The dissolution of the organizational structures of the CPSU did not lead and could not lead to changes in the views of part of population. The implementation of the economic reforms has embittered them further. There is not a little confusion and blatant swindling. All this is making the first steps extremely tortuous. Of course, the new situation will teach everyone—both the producers, the salespeople, and the consumers—that all this will not happen in a flash.

But a normal market has started to take shape. It is the market of the consumer, through whom...[Yeltsin changes thought] It is precisely his preference which ultimately determines the basic parameters of production. In the next few weeks, solvent demand will become a harsh price limiter. In a number of regions, prices which have been inordinately hiked will start to fall. Of course, all this is taking place to the accompaniment of enormous screeching. The self-regulating mechanisms also lay in such depths that they have grown thoroughly rusty, and every turn requires inordinate efforts and is painfully achieved.

For the present, reform is thus far going at an impermissibly slow rate. In the localities, they continue to wait for instructions from above. Even if they receive them, they are in no hurry to implement them. It is vitally necessary to overcome delays. There is a particular role here for the Supreme Soviet and its deputies. In the course of its work, our Supreme Soviet has adopted quite a few strong decisions, the fulfillment of which today makes for substantial support for economic reform.

In the course of the tours of Russian leaders around the Republic, quite a few problems and shortcomings, including those of the government, have emerged. I consider that the most significant of these is that the measures for social protection of citizens have become bogged down. As early as November, decrees were signed concerning social protection for pensioners, invalids, families with many children, students and workers in budget-financed sphere, and on the unfreezing of wages. The Supreme Soviet also took an active part in drafting these extremely important measures. But, in many places, the advance arrangements did not work, even taking into account the fact that the date for liberalization of prices was postponed from 16 December to 2 January, as you know. Most people have still not received the additional payments. I have had to hear quite a few harsh words on this issue. Many citizens have ended up simply with no way out. I consider that the emergence of this problem is on the conscience of the government, and energetic measures definitely have to be taken here.

A very important problem which must be resolved without delay is to provide incentives for people to expand production, primarily production of consumer goods and foodstuffs. The unfreezing of prices has not yet, by itself, proved to be such an incentive. We have seen during our tour that monopolists are prepared to cut production and to change to a different range of goods and even to halt production. The consumer remains totally unprotected. Monopolies must be smashed along the whole chain of the movement of goods so that the consumer can finally influence price formation.

A major role in this should be undertaken by the antimonopoly committee which, unfortunately, when organizing things often fails to consult local leaders. And, although the government adopted a number of decisions on these questions in December, they, unfortunately, are being implemented badly. We must unite all of our possibilities—the government, the executive chains of command, the whole corps of Russian deputies, the procuracy, and the internal affairs bodies to help establish normal market relations.

Practice, particularly over the past few days, is showing that where due state support is given to reform, where sabotage is being combatted, prices are lower and there are more goods. I am convinced that all this is not neo-Bolshevism or populism. The thing is that the authorities must take active part in reforms. If we turn our backs on them, neglect them, we descredit our transformation and will ruin an important task. Sabotage and inactivity by the authorities locally must be given a tough rebuff. The market is being asserted for people, for those who produce and consume. It is they who must today be protected, not only by law but also through specific, practical actions of those in power.

Some authorities in the regions are taking additional measures for the social protection, which I myself saw, for instance in Bryansk Oblast and in a number of other oblasts. The first weeks of reform already have shown that now a number of corrections to economic policy are necessary. First, more resolute measures are needed to curtail monopolies, to form an environment of competition and first of all in the sphere of trade. The interests of monopolies, departmental and criminal ones, have become intertwined here. The mafia controls the markets, does not permit outside, so to speak, sellers, for the sake of increasing its income. Together with bureaucrats it pursues a single aim in trade: to push up prices and prevent the normal circulation of goods. Evidently, the time has now come—taking into account that producers are pushing up prices, taking the level of profitability up to 200-300 percent—for you and me to make decisions, limiting the level of profitability to at most 50 percent. Without fail, a decision must be made on what is not to be included in production costs, because frequently this

is done in an artificial way. Starting the elimination of trade monopolies and creating competition in this sphere are the most urgent tasks of the next few weeks. Urgent actions are needed to turn current prices into truly free ones. Today, they continue to be fixed at auctions—it is by no means always understandable how this happens. Right now, auctions exist in many places. They have not been abolished. It is they who by administrative means dictate prices in shops and on markets. Prices actually must become free. Shops must be juridically independent as any enterprise.

The toughest measures will be taken regarding trade monopolies, including their being administratively abolished, as was the case in Nizhniy Novgorod when Molokotorg turned out butter at a price of 208 rubles. After that, Molokotorg was abolished and the shops became a legal person.

The process of commercialization of trade enterprises is gaining strength. Now 21,000 shops have received the status of legal person, but this is, of course, little for Russia. Commissions have been sent to 40 regions of Russia to carry out this work and check up on it. It has been decided that the private and also the state trade enterprises which have undergone reorganization are released from commercial sales tax [Nadtsenka]. I believe that this measure will act as an incentive to transformations in the commercial sphere.

The task has been set, within the course of one month, to take all the shops of Russia out of the system of TORGs [foreign trade associations] and, of course, the trade profit margin will have to be brought down from 25 percent at least to 7 to 10 percent.

Second: The credit and monetary policy needs to be tightened up. Today, this sphere is in a state of disorder. In the course of the whole of last year, while production was falling, the elaboration of the financial plans of budgetary bodies, ministries, departments and individual enterprises was continuing. If loss-making or unprofitable enterprises did not receive funds from the government, the money would be provided by the Central Bank. As a result, the effectiveness of production fell while reserves of commodities and materials grew. While there was a fall in the level of production of about 10 percent for last year, the amount of funds to the accounts of enterprises increased by more than three-fold. In these conditions, free prices are still further acting as an incentive to enterprises to hold on to the goods that they have produced in warehouses in expectation of an increase in their price. Loans on easy terms in these cases act directly to increase shortages and prices, and hence against the ordinary citizen.

The conclusion to be drawn is simple: What is necessary is constructive coordination by the government and the Central Bank and also the Supreme Soviet, to which it is accountable. If in the near future, there is not a change in credit and monetary policy, all our transformations may be derailed.

Third: The major fields in the work of speeding up land reform. Because this problem is unresolved today, what essentially is taking place is a food blockade of a number of cities and industrial regions. In the course of two or three months, it is necessary to transform the so-called recumbent agricultural enterprises. Many of them, under conditions of free prices, will cease to be loss-making, but it is to be expected that a certain proportion of them will, nevertheless, not be able to get on their feet. Land used by these farms will be transferred to the peasants or, if it continues to be used ineffectively, it will be transferred to anyone who wants it.

The government is also providing support for development of commercial structures in the spheres of agricultural services and the processing and marketing of output. A start has been made on reforming the system of supply of materials and equipment, agro-chemical servicing, and deliveries of agricultural produce.

A major field of agrarian reform is active state support for peasant farms. The government has drafted the appropriate resolution. With the aim of supporting peasant farmers, it is proposed to allocate this year no less than 6 billion rubles of budgetary allocations. In the transition period of the emergence of the market, it is planned to maintain peasant farmers' guarantees for equipment supplies.

Under the program for Russian peasant farmers, it is planned to finance experimental design projects and conversion measures for mastering the production of specialised machines and units for peasant farms.

While in St. Petersburg, I saw for myself that, regrettably, our bureaucracy sometimes gets bogged down, and does not resolve issues which could be resolved fairly quickly. For example, a decision was made to organize production of small tractors for peasant farms at the Kirov works. An agreement with foreign firms was signed. But, even in the course of several months, they did not manage to give the government a guarantee, and I was met at the airport by a delegation from the Kirov works, infuriated at such bureaucracy. A decision on this issue had to be made right there, in St. Petersburg.

Fourth: The government has adopted a privatization program for 1992. Over this period, up to 70 percent of enterprises in the services sphere, in trading, and in public catering should cease to be state enterprises. By 20 January, the government will prepare what is effectively the last package of enforceable enactments on this matter. We have set about strengthening the privatization bodies. The overall number of those working in them over four to six months will rise to 5,000-10,000 people.

But, it has to be stated directly that privatization is going badly. I also was able to convince myself yesterday in St. Petersburg. Take the privatization of shops: the salespeople are in favor; the directors of the shops are in favor; the mayor is in favor; no one knows who is against it—but there is no privatization.

At the same time, to give another example, I visited the Volodarskiy clothing association, an enterprise which has taken, which has bought up everything that belonged to it, and the work is proceeding quite differently. Discipline has been enhanced, production has increased in quantity and quality has improved, and it is simply amazing how good the mood of the people is, you understand, at this time that is so difficult for all of us.

The average revenue per each person working in this association amounts to 1,400 rubles, but the wages in hand amount to 1,100 rubles. Thus, it is necessary to emphasize yet again that it is, of course, impossible to carry out all the measures from Moscow for each and every enterprise: More independence must be granted and these issues must be tackled on the spot.

Fifth: The first steps of the reform have shown the importance of strengthening reform management structures. Extraordinarily weak links are to be found within these structures. The government's approach to this issue is a responsible one. We already have a vertical executive structure, which is nearly complete. The Supreme Soviet, which is a body competent to do so, is dealing with these issues. However, the formal existence of specific bodies does not solve the problem. It is important to ensure that everyone works in the same direction, that laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet, the president's decrees, and government decisions are fulfilled without fail.

During my trip, I found out how big the resistance to reforms is in the structures of power. We will deal with these issues in an uncompromising manner, being guided by your decisions, laws, decrees and, of course, by government decisions. A decree on being responsible for the nonfulfillment of decrees has been adopted and signed. It is, evidently, necessary also to adopt a law on the responsibility for nonfulfillment of the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet. It must be said that for the time being, the procuracy's work making people answerable for the nonfulfillment of these decisions in the localities has been poor.

Sixth: Free prices demand an increase in social guarantees for the population. This concerns first and foremost direct, targeted aid for the least protected social groups—pensioners, invalids, students, those citizens who possess little and families with many children.

Support for people in military uniform is a special task for us. A number of important decisions will be taken on this issue in the near future. A government resolution has been drafted on extra protection for students and young people in education.

It has been decided to channel 4.3 billion rubles and $17 million dollars from the coffers of the former CPSU into the social protection fund. These amounts have already been brought to light today. In these issues, we are operating according to the principle that all party money should be directed toward the social protection of citizens who possess little. I would like to ask our foreign partners once again to help in the search for party money placed abroad.

We count on an active participation of the trade unions, various funds, and commercial organizations in the work to ensure that social protection becomes a reality. The question of the upkeep of the Army is currently an acute one. Problems of food and commodity supply have become aggravated. The liberalization of prices complicated these questions many times over. Our approach is known: The reduction of the military budget should not be at the expense of the vital requirements of servicemen. It is my view that local authorities should help the military in ensuring food supplies.

For its part, the government will allot extra resources toward these goals. I particularly want to say something on the problem of taxes. Tax rates today are high. Everybody recognizes this. But the government's position as a matter of principle is that a sudden breaking up of the tax system in conditions when it has still practically not started to work is inadmissible. It would pave the way to uncontrollable hyperinflation and the disintegration of the state structure.

At the same time, the government is ready to begin work on the correction of tax policy, and in step with the creation of conditions will soften it when conditions are ripe. But at the same time, obviously it is now necessary to think about a value-added tax, particularly where foodstuffs are concerned, since cost seems to increase from one enterprise to another, and an egg ends up costing 21.60 rubles in St. Petersburg.

[Khasbulatov, interrupts] The price of a chicken.

[Yeltsin, continues] Yes. And the cost, then, of an egg is approximately five or six rubles. Therefore, here we have a profit level of more than 200 percent. This is quite unjustified, and so with a value-added tax of 28 percent, on a range perhaps of basic food products, this question must be reviewed fairly urgently. [as heard]

Esteemed People's Deputies! I think that in difficult conditions it is necessary to consolidate the mechanisms of interaction between the government and the Supreme Soviet. We are doing the same job. Any kind of rivalry in a fight for leadership is inadmissible here. Of course, to criticize the government today is easy, tempting. From this occupation, one can win considerable political dividends, and receive the approval of a part of the population. But surely today this will not, at a time that is so difficult for everybody, be acceptable. I also find unacceptable the evil habit of groaning and whining. Today we simply have neither the time nor the right to do that.

In the next few days, Russia's parliament will be receiving from the government a number of legislative bills directed toward implementing the reform. These include bills on hard currency regulation, on bankruptcy, and on mortgages and draft amendments on the civil law

relating to altering property relations. Parliament will be sent a draft presidential decree on free trade. Esteemed deputies, I ask you to consider these documents in a very short time. I think it essential also to speed up the adoption of a law on responsibility for failure to implement the legislation of the Russian Federation. I will say bluntly that without such a law those who are impeding reforms and sabotaging them will go unpunished.

Esteemed deputies, in conclusion I would just like to repeat: The reforms have not yet become irreversible and at present need active support, mutual trust, and cooperation. Only thus will we be able to overcome the difficulties and get Russia out of crisis. Counting upon the state wisdom of the deputies, I believe that decisions will be adopted which are worthy of the parliament of free Russia. Thank you.

Agenda for 16 Jan Sesion Viewed

LD1501182592

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 1000 GMT on 15 January broadcasts a five-minute report by correspondent Olga Vasilenko from the 15 January session of the Russian parliament. Vasilenko reports that the chambers are sitting separately today. The agendas of both chambers are practically identical: They will be discussing draft Russian laws on commodity exchange and exchange trade, as well as a draft law on mineral wealth. It was also decided to discuss the position of former USSR deputies.

Vasilenko cites some of the proposals put forward by deputies of both chambers: improvements in the life of servicemen and relations between the parliament and the government among other things. She thinks these issues will be raised at joint sittings of chambers.

"Incidentally," says Vasilenko, "the first joint sitting of chambers is to take place already tomorrow [16 January]. I think that the first issue of the agenda—on the social and economic situation in the Russian Federation in connection with the liberalization of prices—will be of immense interest to journalists and all our listeners, as it is expected that the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, will deliver a report on this issue. At this point I am ending my report."

Khasbulatov Explains Call for Resignation

LD1501181692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" Newscast]

[Text] It is expected that Boris Yeltsin will return to Moscow today. Tomorrow the president is to make an important speech at the plenary session of Parliament. Meanwhile, Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke at a meeting with journalists today about his confrontation with the executive power. This is what he said.

[Begin recording] I have made severe criticisms. Do you agree? I proposed—to be more exact even suggested certain possibilities—one or two options under which the government can resign. But first, as you have noticed, I did not make any tough demands that it should resign immediately. However, some serious thinking should be done about these ideas.

I would like tomorrow's discussion to be businesslike and constructive, without accusations or counteraccusations, or any attempts to engage in heated arguments with a view to clearing the air, as it were. I hope that this will be the serious and analytical tone in which the deputies will hold tomorrow's discussion. [end recording]

Khasbulatov Criticisms 'Specifically Timed'

LD1501211692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Report by announcer Yuriy Rostov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The session of the Russian parliament which resumed work today has not yet seen any of the dramatic clashes which were expected. Obviously, tomorrow will be a difficult day. A speech by Boris Yeltsin is expected at the session tomorrow. Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the parliament, has been the center of attention recently. This is not accidental. He, rather suddenly for many, expressed sharp criticism of the Russian Government, accusing it of extreme incompetence. This speech was heard for the first time 10 days after the beginning of the reforms, that is, when positive results could not have been expected in any case.

This fact made many observers come to the conclusion that Khasbulatov's speech was specifically timed to coincide with the parliament's session and was aimed at strengthening the position of Khasbulatov himself. On the one hand, the Chechen parliament, unrecognized by Russia, has annulled the mandate of the leader of the Russian parliament. On the other, it is obvious that the right- wing bloc in the parliament will become stronger, and Khasbulatov takes this into account. One version expressed is a possible intention on the part of Khasbulatov to create a political alliance with Aleksandr Rutskoy.

There are many versions, but it seems to me that the opposition speech by Khasbulatov can be explained by the shock of his trip to Ryazan and also by difficulties of finding a common language with members of the government. Anyway, from the point of view of his standing among electors, Khasbulatov is in an advantageous position because he does not approve the unpopular reforms.

It seems to us that in the very near future a clash is unavoidable between the government and the parliament which now intends to participate more actively in the life of Russia. The pressure from electors is, accidentally, exercised through the parliament first of all. The

climax of confrontation between the government and the parliament may occur in two or three months' time, if mass redundancies start.

Deputies Critical of Khasbulatov Statements

LD1501193892 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Tamara Zamyatina and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Russian MP's [members of parliament] do not subscribe to Ruslan Khasbulatov's criticism connected with freeing prices. Speaking on Wednesday [15 January] at a meeting of the Council of Nationalities of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Deputy Mikhail Molostvov said the chairman of the parliament expressed only his personal view of the progress of the economic reform.

"It stands to reason that each of us is free to state personal opinion, also as regards the activity of the executive power But Khasbulatov's sharp criticism of the government, which he made after visiting Ryazan, does not reflect the view of the entire parliament," he said.

Deputy Gleb Yakunin was also critical of the parliamentary chairman. He said that the latest meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium made one think of a meeting of the former Politburo of the CPSU Central Committeee. "The parliamentary chairman sitting at the head of the table took members of the government to task as if they were boys. Khasbulatov spoke so emotionally that he could have swayed us all, if we had lost our bearing."

During the debate deputies emphasised that common people believe the government was to blame for delaying privatisation and is now paying for its shortfalls. Members of the Russian parliament intend to summarize proposals for economic reform made under the influence of their meetings with voters during the parliamentary recess and refer them to the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Republic's government.

Democratic Russia Bloc Gives News Conference

LD1601001292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] A news conference given by the council of the Democratic Russia Bloc of parliamentary factions was held in the Russian White House today. Our correspondent Nikolay Artemyev reports:

[Artemyev] The government can work safely; the deputies of Democratic Russia will not allow the Supreme Soviet to adopt a decision on its resignation. This was the theme of a news conference given by the bloc in which people's deputies Petr Filippov, Lev Ponomarev, Sergey Yushinkov and others took part. Pronouncements by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, with regard to the policy implemented by the Russian government were severely criticized. An appeal, distributed at the news conference on behalf of Democratic Russia, expressed protest against unleashing a campaign of non-constructive criticism aimed at discrediting actions of the government, which has just started implementing unpopular but unavoidable steps in radical economic reform.

In order to make this significant statement on principled issues, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, in our view, should agree his position with the Supreme Soviet, the deputies of the Bloc think. We are certain, the appeal says, that the opinion of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet in the present situation does not reflect the point of view of the Russian Supreme Soviet and, in particular, of the factions of the Democratic Bloc.

The Bloc regards this policy as socially dangerous and destructive and states that, if it continues, the Bloc will be forced to appeal to people's deputies with a proposal to convene an extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the Russian Federation. This was the statement promulgated at the press conference on behalf of the Democratic Russia Bloc.

Does this mean another parliamentary crisis? The very near future will let us see.

Policy of Reforms 'Has No Alternative'

LD1601031892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Speaking at the fourth session of the Russian parliament, which resumed its work on 15 January, deputies were unanimous that the policy of reforms has no alternative and that it is only the question of what reforms to implement and how. Two points of view were expressed. Some deputies were calling to actively support the Russian Government in its efforts to reform the economy; other deputies claimed that the executive power started reforms without due preparations and its steps are in need of some corrections. Both chambers examined a draft law "On Commodity Exchanges and Stock-Exchange Trading," which is summoned to take the market process into a civilized channel.

Khasbulatov Criticizes Tax Policy, Budget

LD1401173192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1629 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)— The current tax policy of the Russian Government may lead to the complete extinction of incentives for enterprise, Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Russian parliament, declared today in a conversation with journalists.

Initially, he continued, the Supreme Soviet had tried not to hinder the government in its attempts to implement its program. Now, however, there is no need to wait six months before submitting a diagnosis to the government, he stated. Moreover, Ruslan Khasbulatov pointed to the

government's lack of an agreed budget for the first quarter of 1992 as an impermissible luxury.

In his view, there is no point in waiting for the government to bankrupt itself completely. The population will then stop believing in reform, and a firm hand will be demanded. "Parliament has no intention of allowing a situation in which government policy may form the basis for the establishment of a dictatorship," the Supreme Soviet chairman said. "Parliament therefore has a right to put before the Russian president the question of a change of government or to tackle the question independently."

Ruslan Khasbulatov asserted that his meeting with Boris Yeltsin today confirmed that the relations of the Supreme Soviet chairman and the Russian president are being built on a foundation that is by no means simple.

Khasbulatov, Shumeyko Meet Miners' Committee

OW1501191292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has urged the mine workers' strike committee in Vorkuta to refrain from strikes. He and his deputy Vladimir Shumeyko, in charge of economic reform, met with committee members in the RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow on Wednesday [15 January] to hear out miners' demands. They expressed understanding with regard to the demand for direct worker participation in the distribution of products.

The miners, for their part, supported Khasbulatov's criticism of the Russian government—particularly where the issue of price liberalization was concerned. Mr. Khasbulatov decided that Supreme Soviet leaders and strike committee experts should pool efforts with government officials to prepare, within the next two days, a draft government resolution permitting barter exchanges between local enterprises during the transitional period. The head of Russian parliament also supported the mine workers' demand that coal mines be urgently privatized or turned into shareholding companies.

Khasbulatov Appeals Against Strike

LD1601134792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today we received confirmation of a report which we were inclined to regard as rumors a few days ago. A number of mines declared today that their labor colectives have been placed on what is called strike alert. It is interesting that the reason for this is not the customary demand to fill shops with sausage. The miners are demanding the development of a free producers and entrepreneurs initiative—or to put it more simply, the workers are asking that conditions be created so that they themselves will be able to earn real money for real production in order that they can have the opportunity to live normally even when shelves are empty.

This was under discussion at a meeting today between Ruslan Khasbulatov and representatives of miners' labor collectives.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] We are losing confidence in the government, although we never had faith in this government. Confidence is even being lost in the president. If things go on like this, people will rush toward the lawyer's son, Zhirinovskiy.

What is going on in our country (?now)? There is no authority, the mafia is raging.

It seems to me that what we have now is a planned collapse of our economy in Russia.

[Khasbulatov] I would very much ask you not to be disillusioned in the president's activity, and, as before, to give that enormous support which you have been showing President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. A very strong president is needed in our most difficult circumstances.

[Unidentified man] Yes.

[Khasbulatov] Someone who enjoys the support and confidence of the people, and to the same degree, an influential parliament, Supreme Soviet. I expressly ask you all the same not to call any strikes now. [end recording]

Shumeyko Notes Growth in Social Tension

LD1301185192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 13 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Tamara Zamyatina and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan (TASS)—Vladimir Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the Russian parliament and head of the operational group for coordination of parliamentary activities to resolve economic and social problems, has noted a growth in social tension in connection with the liberalization of prices. Speaking at today's session of the parliament's presidium, he also said that no serious disruptions of public order are taking place.

The information which the group has to hand shows that the reform is proceeding with great difficulties. The most unfavorable situation has taken shape in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other major cities. The speaker also noted that the situation is improving in a number of regions. Prices in the shops are falling.

The head of the group said that foodstuffs are not selling in many shops because of high prices, and are having to be returned to producers. Many enterprises prefer not to increase output of foodstuffs, since they are assured of their profits through high prices. Instances have been noted where foodstuffs arriving from abroad by way of

humanitarian aid are coming into commercial shops. There are abuses in the trade system, which frequently holds goods back.

Slogans calling for the resignation of the Supreme Soviet and of the Russian government have been added to the protests against high prices that have been held in a number of towns in the republic, the head of the operational group noted.

Protests, Riot Potential Noted

OW1401060192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting of the Russian Supreme Council's Presidium Monday [13 January], head of the Russian parliamentary Anti-Crisis Group Vladimir Shumeyko said that the country is facing growing social tension as a result of the price liberalization.

Shumeyko revealed results of an opinion poll taken in Irkutsk showing that 40% of those questioned are prepared to take part in riots related to the price liberalization. 60% accuse the central authorities of aggravating the situation.

Participants in the rallies staged in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Bryansk, Chelyabinsk, Oryol, Penza, Sochi and Krasnodar not only protested against the price liberalization and criticized the president, but also urged the resignation of the Russian Supreme Council, the government and local authorities.

Shumeyko said that the Anti-Crisis Group had sent a letter to the Russian Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov about the violation of the decree on the price liberalization with regard to price control for basic foodstuffs.

'Special Groups' Hold Conference on Reform

OW1001210292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference of special groups of the government and parliament of Russia monitoring progress in economic reforms in Russia has approved the proposal for a joint session of the parliament and government next week.

President Boris Yeltsin is going to speak on the current situation. The leader of the special group of parliament Vladimir Shumeyko has told IF [INTERFAX] that this proposal will go for approval before the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on Monday [13 January].

Taking part in the conference were government officials Gennadiy Burbulis, Yegor Gaydar, Aleksandr Shokhin and Sergey Shakhray, and parliament members Vladimir Shumeyko, Vladimir Ispravnikov, Yuriy Yarov and Sergey Krasavchenko.

'Operations Group' Reveals 'Worrying Trends'

PM1201160992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 92 p 2

["My Opinion" article by Yevgeniy Sorokin: "Strike When the Iron Is Hot"]

[Text] The second session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet operations group to coordinate solutions of social and economic problems was held 8 January, late in the evening. As readers obviously already know, behind this strange name lurks an ordinary Russian parliamentary working organ. Its job during the liberalization period is to quell any conflicts that might arise locally and in relations between the legislative and executive authorities.

This body is certainly needed. Indeed, the ins and outs of life are much more complex than armchair theories. And it is clear that price liberalization will present legislators and executives with many more very nasty surprises. However, both the "operations group's" organizational work and its sessions are steeped in the best Russian "traditions" and are very reminiscent of the harvesting headquarters under CPSU rayon committees.

To begin with, prices have been freed, there is nothing to trade in anyway, yet the "operations group" is only just beginning to take shape and define its status. The truth is that the time to strike is when the iron is hot. In the second place—and this is the main point, as many group members stressed, incidentally—their work almost entirely duplicates the activities of the government at the moment.

But some very interesting, although worrying trends emerged during the session. The new Soviet businessmen, who are making billions hand over fist by the "buy and sell" method, taking advantage of the difficulties in the consumer market, decided to get a piece of the action here too. Deputy A. Pochinok reported that they are angry about "extortionate" taxes. (For some reason they maintain a modest silence about their own exorbitant prices). There will be no prosperity in Russia, according to them, until you have paltry taxes.

Fortunately, the group's members did not take the bait. At the suggestion of a number of deputies, it was decided to ask the government to present its ideas on changing tax legislation in order to reduce the tax not on the middlemen, who are fishing in troubled waters, but on the producers. It is hard to say how this will be accomplished. In the first place, the overall cost to the state budget will be 60 billion rubles [R]. Second, the government has not yet submitted the actual budget for consideration by parliament.

"We have fallen into a trap," a distressed A. Pochinok said. "It has become profitable to cut back production while at the same time raising prices. All the monopolists are over the moon about this. It has gotten to the point where prices are being raised to insane levels even for goods on which limits have been set by presidential decree. Control is practically nonexistent."

A memorandum circulated among the "operations group" members told how people were reacting to this. The situation is extremely tense. The waiting lines for bread are enormously long all over the country. The trade system is intimidated by the prices asked by suppliers: In fact, it will have to pay compensation in the event of spoilage. As a result, even if the food is available, the stores are refusing to take it.

Not long before this session some miners from Vorkuta arrived in Moscow. They are demanding that the outrage concerning prices be brought to an end. At the same time, they have proposed their own project for getting the country out of the crisis. Essentially it is the opposite of the government program, that is, total barter. It is interesting that one of the representatives of the new businessmen gave a report on this subject. This is also quite alarming: The workers' movement is joining up with Soviet businessmen, having been spurned by the Russian Government out of incomprehensible arrogance. As S. Shashurin, a representative of the Vorkuta strike committences, informed me, complete arbitrariness is now the barter rule. Thus, one of the mines sold 10,000 tonnes of coal to the West for... eight tonnes of candy. At the same time a kilogram of sour cream costs 360 rubles in the city. A major strike is brewing, but the Russian Government does not want to change anything in its program, which is disastrous for the country.

So accord was not reached during the session. And it is impossible to predict how it will all end.

All in all, the members of the "operations group" agreed on the main thing in their work: Not to undermine the government, but to efficiently help at a legislative level.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Arrives in St. Petersburg; Full Agenda

Comments on 'Extortionate Prices'

LD1501171992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1439 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is in St. Petersburg today. Here is a report from our correspondent Matvey Frolov.

[Frolov] For the first time as president of our independent state, Boris Nikolayevich is on the banks of the Neva. The program for his visit is a very full one—constant meetings with the townspeople and discussions of the most topical problems both of the life of the city and the life of the Russian Federation. The guest was met at the airport by Mayor Sobchak of St. Petersburg, Petrogradskiy Soviet Chairman Belyayev, and other city and oblast leaders.

First of all, the president paid homage to the memory of the heroic defenders of Leningrad. In Victory Square, Boris Nikolayevich laid flowers at the monument which embodies the courage and steadfastness of the people of Leningrad. St. Petersburg is a maritime city; the whole of its history is connected with the fleet. A long and detailed conversation took place at the maritime commercial port, which receives hundreds of vessels from all over the world, and also on board a tug where the eminent guest acquainted himself with the port area.

Kharchenko, the head of the Baltic Shipping Line, and Terekhov, the port chief, acquainted the president with the work of the transport workers, with discussion centering chiefly on new forms of economic management. After all, the Baltic Shipping Line has long since switched to leaseholding. The plans are already more progressive and more useful for each member of the collective. The port workers, engineers, and seamen had a great number of questions for the president—justifiable claims and desires. The meetings at the Vasiliostrovskiy market and in a food shop were just as lively and intensive.

There is no need to say what the main subject of all the discussions and conversations was—the present situation with respect to food supplies to the city, the economy, and, first and foremost, of course, there was discussion about the new prices. This is what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said, addressing the people of St. Petersburg:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Well, first of all, these are extortionate prices, and not free prices, one might say. In other words these are abuses which, I would say, are sometimes deliberate, and a kind of provocation to arouse people. Of course, this cannot fail to make people angry. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Speaks in Victory Square

OW1501175292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin, of Russia has reaffirmed his intention to go ahead with economic reforms in defiance of criticism against his associates. He was speaking in Victory Square in St. Petersburg where he arrived on Wednesday [15 January] on a one-day working visit.

At the entrance to the Baltic shipping company, which President Yeltsin visited to look into plans for building a port center on the Baltic he was met by workers' pickets protesting against sky-rocketing prices.

President Yeltsin told port workers and shipping company managers that in the wake of Russia's loss of the ports in the Baltic states and Ukraine the Baltic shipping company acquired strategic importance. The President said that he was ready to issue a decree to reform the Baltic shipping company into a joint-stock one. President Yeltsin believes that the privatization of the Baltic Shipping company is going to give the labour staff the control shares—51%, the Russian government and the Mayor's office of St. Petersburg more than 20% of shares and foreign partners—25%.

The Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak strongly objected to this. He said that this measure would push up the company's tariffs.

During his visit to the shipping company President Yeltsin said that he was going to sign an early agreement with the Mayor's office of St. Petersburg and the administration of the Leningrad region on the city's food supply. Yeltsin said the agreement would oblige the authorities of the Leningrad region to maintain the previous volumes of food supplies to the city, and the Russian government to increase mandatory food supplies from other regions of Russia.

The Mayor of St. Petersburg has told IF [INTERFAX] that at a meeting behind closed doors at the Baltic shipping company on Wednesday it was agreed that the Russian Cabinet of Ministers would make a final decision within a two-week deadline on building Russia's strategic sea port on the Gulf of Finland near the mouth of the Luga river.

Praises 'Team Spirit'

OW1501190292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing workers of a garment-manufacturing association in St. Petersburg on Wednesday [15 January], Russian President Boris Yeltsin ruled out the possibility of the current government's resignation. He said it would have to stay to see through the reforms it had launched. He praised the government for its "team spirit" and the Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar for his competence as an economic strategist.

After his one-day working visit to St. Petersburg the president is to return to Moscow later on Wednesday.

Meets Dockers

LD1501204492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Video report by G. Gerasimov from St. Petersburg; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Baltic Shipping Line. Since the morning hundreds of people have gathered here in order to meet the Russian president. Until recently it could have been said that they had come to welcome the head of the Russian Government. Today, however, those who assembled had, perhaps, mainly complaints and demands that painful issues be resolved.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] Well, dockers, what are your problems?

[Unidentified speaker] The problems are like this, Boris Nikolayevich. Everyone estimates the price for his work the way he thinks best. If the transport minister of the whole of Russia thinks that he is worth 4,000 rubles at present prices, then we think that a docker is worth at least 5,000-6,000 rubles.

[Yeltsin] Wages are defined by an agreement between a trade union and the management of an enterprise now. For a month, for a year, and so on, and so forth. So I cannot understand why Moscow defines these tariffs. [end recording]

Converses With Leadership

LD1501205792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Today's visit to St. Petersburg by Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Federation, ended with a conversation in the Smolnyy with the city and oblast leadership. Although journalists were not permitted at the meeting, the president's press service reported that problems of the conversion of military production and the grave food situation in Russia's second city were discussed.

When he arrived at the Smolnyy the president was greeted by a picket of striking taxi drivers who were demanding a reduction in the excessive tariffs and in the plan for daily earnings, the privatization of taxi-car pools, and a reduction in the administrative apparatus.

Boris Yeltsin received representatives of the strikers and the question of the St.Petersburg taxi drivers was solved. As of tomorrow, taxis in this city will cost half as much; drivers will have to contribute less money to the pool fund, and a period of 30 days will be allocated for preparation for privatization. The strikers applauded this decision. In the evening Boris Yeltsin left for Moscow.

Outline of Visit Results

LD1501220892 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] St. Petersburg January 15 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin ended his one-day business trip to St. Petersburg on Wednesday [15 January].

The president visited the local sea port where he told dockers the port should become a joint stock company. 15-20 percent of shares should be sold to foreigners and the earned currency used for the reconstruction of the port's facilities. But the work force should hold the controlling interest in the company, he suggested.

Yeltsin also said the role of the St. Petersburg sea port will grow due to the "new geopolitical position" of Russia.

The president also visited Baltic Shipping Company offices.

Yeltsin stopped at a local shop where people were queueing for food and talked to the customers. He promised to deliver foreign- made goods and ship food to the city from other Russian regions.

The president then visited a clothes factory whose employees welcomed him with applause and asked him to continue with reforms.

In answer to the employees' question Yeltsin explained that his Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy has his own idea of reforms. He leans more to a command economy, rather than a market one. "But in general, we work together", he added.

The president said the Russian Government has a very high potential. "It is a young government, which united in a team and worked together. And this is important. Such a government should be supported and I support it", he said.

Yeltsin ended his tour of St. Petersburg with a meeting with the local leadership. Problems of converting the military industry to consumer goods production and the critical food situation in the city were in the focus of discussion, the president's press office informed.

Late on Wednesday Yeltsin returned to Moscow.

Repeats Call for Patience

LD1601000192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Excerpts] President Boris Yeltsin of Russia has ended a tour of Russian cities with a visit to St. Petersburg. [passage omitted]

In St. Petersburg President Yeltsin repeated his call for patience and promised stabilization by the end of the year, to be followed by a turn for the better. President Yeltsin said that the current republican government was working as a team and had a great potential. About ways of improving finances, President Yeltsin said that Russia was not going to issue its own money if other republics refrained. Yeltsin said that if Ukraine introduced its own banknotes Russia would have to do the same by July.

Visit Observed, Assessed

PM1601114292 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by V. Karpov: "Straight Answers to Difficult Questions: B. Yeltsin's Stay in St. Petersburg"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—At Pulkovo Airport B. Yeltsin shared his impressions from his recent tours of Russia. Without embellishing his appraisals or avoiding direct, trenchant questions. The situation that is now emerging in the republic is the gravest since the war. The results of the liberalization and emancipation of prices, the president acknowledged, have to some extent proved unexpected and uncontrollable. In a number of cases there is also the question of serious abuses and sabotage of the reforms.

The radical changes should have started earlier. But the Union leadership, the president stressed, vacillated for seven years. Another two or three months' delay with the reforms, and the situation would have become hopeless. Now it is very difficult to clamber out of a hole that took 74 years to dig. What is the solution?

The local executive authorities must be tough and strong and show their mettle. For the sake of the people, who are gritting their teeth and being patient. B. Yeltsin repeated his prediction: Prices will fall by the end of the year. God grant that they do! For that, we can be patient.

Today's tasks: Most important, according to the president, is to support the most unprotected strata of the population: pensioners, students, the poorly off... How is this to be done? The measures include using the revenue from privatization. But here too the president did not conceal his concern, this process is proceeding sluggishly, in St. Petersburg as well as elsewhere.

"Will there be amendments to the reforms?"—we asked the president.

"Certainly. That is inevitable."

The president laid flowers at the monument to the defenders of Leningrad. And then, off to the maritime commercial port. Now Russia's main sea gate.

...V. Vasilyev, chairman of the dockers' and machine operators' trade union, filled B. Yeltsin in on the collective's problems. The crux is that they are not paid enough for the work they do. Prices are rising more quickly than wages. The reason? Tariffs for processing cargos are fixed, established "from above." What is to be done? The president promised to look into it.

Will Russia be stifled by the loss of the Baltic ports, will the "window" on Europe so painstakingly opened by Czar Peter close again? It is clear that the existing port must be extended and modernized, and a new one must also be built. How, when, where, with what funds?... Think about it, president.

B. Yeltsin had barely had time to deal with this question when the next arose: Who will own the port?

To the dockers' approval, the president proposed auctioning the "sea gate" and giving a controlling package of shares to the labor collective. Some of the shares would be free, some sold. Mayor A. Sobchak has his own variant. The port would be solely municipal property. It was decided to discuss the question at the next government session. Without delay, the president gave this

instruction: 50,000 tonnes of foodstuffs destined for Cuba are to be kept for the city and oblast. Applause...

No. 23, Bolshoy Prospekt. A food store. Just look at the crowds. Complaints about prices and shortages. A. Sobchak is constantly having to justify himself. Why do we have to wait in line for hours on end for bread and milk? Why do 10 eggs cost more than 20 rubles? The people ask tough questions, both the mayor and the president are on the receiving end.

There are new addresses along the route. The market, the Volodarskiy Sewn Goods Association. Tours of the workshops. The president may even have been tiring a little. The collective has recently become owner of the enterprise. The clothing workers' wages have increased. There are no complaints or criticisms over unresolved social problems. Here, the reform is in action.

"Ask me what you like," Yeltsin suggested to the workers...

They did not take much persuading.

"Please explain Rutskoy's position..."

[Yeltsin] "He is more inclined toward the old administrative methods..."

"Will the government stand firm?"

[Yeltsin] "Our government is a united team. We are all together, all for reforms. As president, I support the government. I have banned all mention of the question of resigning. The easiest thing to do today would be to walk out. Ye. Gaydar will stand firm. He's tough..."

...Meetings at City Hall... The day comes to an end. A busy, difficult, intensive day. An ordinary working day for the president...

Yesterday evening B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, left for Moscow.

St. Petersburg Polled on Yeltsin Policies

OW1501155292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the eve of President Yeltsin's arrival in St. Petersburg the local sociological research center conducted a poll with a view to finding out what the local people think about the policy pursued by the Russian leader.

As IF [INTERFAX] learned from the pollsters, 40% of respondents approve of Yeltsin's activity on the whole. The greatest confidence in Yeltsin was displayed by St. Petersburg's intellectuals. 34% of those questioned disapprove of his policy. Most of them are factory workers, servicemen from the Leningrad military district and retirees. 26% of respondents were undecided.

Polarization of Opinion Cited in St. Petersburg

LD1601060992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The right opposition has become more active in St. Petersburg at present. Ten percent of the inhabitants support Zhirinovskiy, 21 percent—Alksnis. At the same time, support for Yeltsin is high—40 percent of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg support his activities. On the whole, a quick polarization of public opinion is underway in St. Petersburg and the conditions are strengthening the right front.

Journalists Barred From Yeltsin Meeting

PM1601104992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by Ivan Pyrkh: "Boris Yeltsin on Tour"]

[Excerpt] Bryansk Oblast—[Passage omitted] After his return from Novozybkov Boris Yeltsin held a meeting with the oblast administration and the ministers and other officials arriving with him. As the citizens of Bryansk learned from the president himself on the square alongside the oblast Soviet, the meeting discussed not only problems connected with Chernobyl, but also the liberalization of prices and other priority measures. He expressed indignation over totally unjustifiably steep price increases for individual categories of products.

Since there were very many complaints of abuses coming from Bryansk Oblast, he announced, an order had been given for a commission from the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office to be sent there...

The same evening, 14 January, the Russian President left by plane for St. Petersburg.

P.S. Strange as it may seem, screening of the press by the security services is continuing as in former times. It is incomprehensible what criteria or what considerations they follow in banning journalists from meetings held by the president. In particular, central newspapers' own correspondents were denied access to B. Yeltsin's meeting in Bryansk. Well, in that case how do the people learn and how will they learn the truth about the "subtle" authorities and the actions and undertakings of the president? Thank God that he comes out every time onto the square himself and tells people what is being done and what is being undertaken. Nevertheless, if there is an intention to build a democratic society and rule-of-law state in Russia, the people, the population must know the truth in full measure. Without the press, without journalists this is impossible to achieve.

Gamsakhurdia Arrival in Chechen Not Confirmed

LD1501222292 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Yusuyev]

[Text] Groznny January 15 TASS—Rumours that Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has arrived in the Chechen Republic were not confirmed either by the officers on duty at the Republic's Interior Ministry or staffers at the residence of the Chechen president Dzhokar Dudayev. The president himself was not available for comment.

Rumours continue to circulate in Grozny, the capital. It is alleged that Gamsakhurdia has arrived in the republic, but his location is being kept secret. It is known for a fact that a Georgian presidential adviser visited Groznny on Tuesday [14 January] for talks with Dudayev.

Chechen Foreign Minister Shamil Beno, who was present at the meeting, told TASS Groznny was watching political processes in Georgia with great attention, as it considers the way Gamsakhurdia was overthrown illegal and intends to help restore him to the post. Naturally, it does not imply any intervention in the internal affairs of the neighbouring country.

Rumours are fuelled by reports about the arrival in Groznny of a plane from Yerevan with numerous passengers without tickets, who threatened to hijack the plane if they are not flown to Moscow. Airport security officers have turned to the Chechen National Guard for support in maintaining order until the plane's departure.

Overthrow 'Illegal'

LD1601111992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent]

[Excerpt] Tbilisi, 16 Jan (TASS)—[Passage omitted] The Chechen Republic is closely following events in neighboring Georgia. This was confirmed yesterday by Chechen Foreign Affairs Minister Shamil Beno, among others. Chechenya regards the methods of overthrowing the head of Georgia as illegal and, to all appearances, intends to facilitate his restoration to the office of president in every way, although Chechenya has stated firmly that there can be no talk of any intervention in the internal affairs of the neighboring state.

Army Hands Over Facility to Chechen Guards

PM1601100592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin: "Military Camp Handed to National Guard"]

[Text] Groznyy—By a 14 January order of the commander of the North Caucasus Military District, Military Camp 86 in Groznyy, which is part of the district training center, has been handed over to the Chechen Republic National Guard. Henceforth the men, hardware, armaments, vehicles, and stocks of materiel located there will be deployed to another camp. Why has this been done?

"The fact is," Colonel V. Pashinskiy, deputy chief of the district training center, told me, "that the National Guard leadership has been demanding for some months that we hand over a military camp to house the guards, stating that otherwise they would take it by force. Initially they asked for the barracks and official premises occupied by a former disciplinary company in the settlement of Shali. We could not agree to this. Carefully weighing up all the options, we agreed that the most expedient course would be to hand over Camp 86, which is isolated from other units."

The guards are not only claiming district training center military camps. For instance, some time ago they seized an aviation regiment barracks. And it was only after the intervention of the elders of Berdekelskiy Rayon, on whose territory the military unit is located, that the guardsmen got out.

We should conclude from all this that the leadership of the Chechen Republic Defense Committee is starting to move against military installations. This thought is also prompted by the fact that servicemen at the Groznyy garrison have lately been under constant surveillance [kontrol] by national guardsmen. It is hard living like hostages in such circumstances.

International Affairs

Fokin Holds Talks, Signs Agreement in Athens

LD1501192892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens, 15 January (TASS)—Ukraine's Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, who is here on an official one-day visit, met and held talks with the head of the Greek Government Konstandinos Mitsotakis. The head of the Ukrainian government was also received by Greece's President Konstandinos Karamanlis.

Also today, the sides signed an agreement on economic, industrial, and scientific and technological cooperation, which was earlier initialled in Kiev. A protocol was also signed on establishing diplomatic relations and on regular political consultations between the two countries' ministries of foreign affairs.

We have every ground for saying that the talks are taking place successfully, stated Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoliy Zlenko, in an interview with a TASS correspondent. Three documents have been signed, but this is only the beginning, inspiring confidence that cooperation will develop in the interests of the peoples of the two countries. The Ukrainian minister reported that Mr.Karamanlis has invited our President Kravchuk to visit Greece. I think that an accord on reciprocal visits by Kravchuk to Greece and by Karamanlis to Ukraine will make it possible for us to transfer our relations in the political sphere to a treaty basis.

A joint news conference given by V. Fokin and K. Mitsotakis took place in Athens in the second half of the day.

Nuclear Sales Denied

LD1501194192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Athens, 15 January (TASS)— The Ukraine Government head Vitold Fokin and Greek Premier Konstandinos Mitsotakis spoke at a joint news conference here today on the efforts of Ukraine and Greece to develop friendly ties.

Our meeting can be called historic, stated V. Fokin, stressing that it is a question of the establishment of direct ties between the two countries which have a sound historical base. We are starting not with a blank sheet—we have old traditions of ties, but today we are opening up [otkryvayem] Greece for ourselves and Greece is opening up Ukraine for itself.

The Ukrainian premier dwelt in detail on specific areas of economic cooperation between the two countries, noting that there is "very great" potential for its development. In his words, there are possibilities for this in metallurgy, machine-building, in the chemical, light and food industries, and so on. He stressed that Ukraine will give Western businessmen reliable protection for their investments. There are possibilities for the development of cooperation in the spheres of culture, science, tourism and environmental protection.

Replying to a question on the "sale" of Ukrainian nuclear weapons, V. Fokin categorically rejected such a fabrication, declaring that it "has no real foundation." We, the premier said, intend to get rid of tactical nuclear weapons by the autumn of 1992 and strategic weapons by 1994 or earlier. Rest assured, not one warhead will fall into "dirty hands."

K. Mitsotakis in turn stressed that Greece was one of the first countries to recognize Ukraine's independence. The Ukrainian premier's visit to Athens, he pointed out, serves as a point of departure for the expansion of relations between Greece and Ukraine—relations which have tremendous prospects of further development.

Concludes Visit

LD1501222992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2045 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Excerpt] Athens, 15 January (TASS)—Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, who was paying an official one-day visit here, left for Kiev with his party today. [passage omitted]

Swedish Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

LD1401145792 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in English 0100 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign minister of Sweden, Magaretha af Ugglas, arrived in Kiev today on an official visit. This is the first official visit of a top Swedish figure to Ukraine.

Today the Swedish foreign minister, Magaretha af Ugglas, met with her Ukrainian counterpart, Anatoliy Zlenko. Fruitful negotiations ensued on the further development of international relations.

Magaretha af Ugglas was received by the president of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk.

$28 Million Contributed to International Groups

LD0901194492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The general contributions of Ukraine to international organizations, and Ukraine is member of 15 such organizations, make up $28 million annually. This was declared in an interview for the press by the first deputy foreign minister of Ukraine Nikolay Makarevich. Earlier this money was paid out by the center. Now Ukraine will have to do it all by itself.

The situation of paying out debts is getting more complicated by the fact that the share of our contributions into the funds of international organizations does not

correspond to the size of the Gross National Product of Ukraine, and this is the main index for determining the share of payment of each country. The former Soviet Union, in the course of numerous (?fears), gave false figures to the United Nations Organization on the size of the gross national product of the three members of the international organization from the Soviet Union.

National Affairs

President Gives Address on Economics, Fleet

LD1501173592 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk made a live address today [14 January] over the republic's TV and radio. At the beginning of his speech he characterized the economic situation in the republic as a very sharp one. The liberalization of prices has led to the deepening of difficulties.

Leonid Kravchuk enumerated measures which are being taken by him, the president, and the government of the republic with the aim of leading the economy out of the crisis and strengthening the social protection of the population under conditions of the transition to a free market—that is, the reduction of the size of taxes from enterprises, introduction of re-usable coupons, the increase of wages, the extension of state assistance to pensioners, invalids, and families with many children.

As far as the political development of Ukraine is concerned, its president pointed out the inviolability of the chosen line aimed at reaching full independence and rejected any attempts of interference into the internal affairs of Ukraine from outside.

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1300 GMT on 15 January reports: "Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has said that the republic's leadership has been compelled to make an official statement of protest to Russia and demand an end to interference in Ukrainian internal affairs. According to the (RIKA) agency, that is the evaluation he gave in a television address in Kiev yesterday to the award by Marshal Shaposhnikov and Russian President Boris Yeltsin of more ranks to servicemen stationed in Ukraine."

[At 1600 GMT on 15 January Radio Rossii reports the following:

["Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has stated that the republic is not making a claim for the whole Black Sea Fleet. Speaking on national television, he stressed that Ukraine does not need all the vessels of the Black Sea Fleet, especially those that carry nuclear weapons. There should be no nuclear fleet in the Black Sea at all, he said. At the same time the Ukraine president pointed out that his republic has the right to its own fleet and its establishment will be effected on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet.

["Kravchuk stated that playing the nationalist card in the Ukraine and getting the peoples to quarrel will not succeed in the Ukraine. Certain leaders of Russia are seeking to do just that, he said."]

Comments on Russian 'Arrogance'

PM1501200792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Sergey Tsikora report: "Ukrainian President Accuses Russian Leaders of Displaying Imperial Arrogance"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk devoted his address on republic television 14 January to the complex web of economic problems, the creation of Ukraine's own Armed Forces, and the impermissibility of interference by its neighbors in the internal affairs of an independent state.

This was a 40-minute monologue, the like of which, in its emotional content and at times even its sharpness, has never been heard from the lips of the always-restrained head of Ukraine.

The main source of concern was the difficulties the republic has encountered in the transition to the market. Leonid Kravchuk acknowledged that in effect not one component of the machinery necessary for a switch to free pricing is working in Ukraine today—privatization has not been carried out, and Ukraine has not created its own system of credit and finance. It is Russia that has forced us to launch ourselves without preparation into the whirlpool of free prices, the Ukrainian president said.

We are today trying to defend our market by introducing ruble coupons [kupony-karbovantsy], Kravchuk continued, but lack of preparation and miscalculations in this matter have today led to prices on products in state trade often exceeding prices in the markets.

"The working people cannot carry incompetent leaders on their backs," the Ukrainian president stated firmly, and added that the guilty men would get their just deserts at the republic Cabinet of Ministers session 16 January.

L. Kravchuk went on to say that, given the current complete indifference of some states of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to the interests of others, Ukraine is forced to look after itself, and hence intends to introduce its own money. It will be printed by the end of the current year.

It should be noted especially that the theme of current relations with Russia ran through the whole of the Ukrainian president's speech. Whatever issue Kravchuk raised, he without fail mentioned the position of the two republics. It must be noted with regret that mutual understanding has not yet been reached on many acute problems.

The Ukrainian president dwelt in detail on the topic of military building in the republic. He stated that Ukraine

has not violated a single clause of the military agreements signed in Minsk and Alma-Ata. But an independent Ukraine will allow no one to dictate to it any conditions whatsoever, especially if they concern its security, the president stressed. We cannot agree to one republic today declaring its right to fleets and other armed forces, and also to embassies abroad. One state cannot be the inheritor and successor of everything to which the peoples of the former Union contributed their labor.

Touching on the currently acute problem of the dividing up of the fleet, L. Kravchuk stated that officially Ukraine has never stated that it is taking over the Black Sea Fleet. We say that we have a right to create our own fleet. And whether it will be formed from the Black Sea Fleet or built at the Ukraine's shipyards is the topic of a separate conversation. But the Ukraine is against the Black Sea being plowed by ships armed with nuclear weapons.

The fact that military-political problems between the Ukraine and Russia are still far from being solved is suggested by the latest news cited by Kravchuk during his television address. He said: Today I have learned that, on the representation of Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, the rank of general has been conferred by Russian President Yeltsin on military men serving in Ukraine. We cannot agree with such actions, Kravchuk stated. This is the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, Government, and president of the Ukraine.

However the most acute issue in the Ukrainian president's address was that of "the blatant interference of some Russian leaders to our internal affairs." Describing this as imperial arrogance, L. Kravchuk cited the latest example from the 14 January issue of TRUD, which published an interview with Russian Minister Poltoranin. In this article the member of the Russian Government allowed himself to use far from diplomatic expressions about the head of Ukraine. Describing his behavior as a display of great power chauvinism, "whose carriers in Russia were described as 'small-town police thugs' [derzhimorda] by the Bolshevik Lenin," L. Kravchuk said that the Ukrainian Government has officially demanded of the Russian parliament, government, and president an end to the whipping up of passions in relations between the two republics and peoples, and to interference in the internal affairs of another sovereign state.

This policy led to extremely serious consequences in the Baltic region, and has provoked conflicts in other regions. There is peace in Ukraine today, and we do not intend to put up with any interference in our life. We will carry out the policy with which the people entrusted us, the Ukrainian president said, and accept no correction from outside.

Further on Address

PM1501223992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 92 p 2

[Mikhail Odinets report: "Kravchuk Versus Poltoranin"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has spoken on Ukrainian television. He dwelt on the problems of strengthening the economy and the monetary and financial system and of the structure of the Armed Forces, and touched in particular on the Black Sea Fleet.

At the same time a significant part of his address was devoted to instances of interference in Ukraine's internal affairs on the part of certain representatives of the Russian leadership and mass media. "Imperial arrogance is bordering on showing disrespect for Ukraine as a state," he said. Criticizing an interview given to TRUD by M. Poltoranin, Russian minister of the press and mass media, L. Kravchuk quoted from the newspaper the words that M. Poltoranin is a reliable and longstanding comrade-in-arms of Boris Yeltsin, and stressed: "Even the Bolshevik Lenin was very sensitive to these questions, and called Russian chauvinists small-town police thugs [derzhimordy], because he was very much afraid that they would inflict damage on the outposts of the Czarist Russia of those days."

Addressing the Russian minister directly from the screen and remarking that his message would be conveyed to him, Kravchuk said: "Now you, pardon me, belong to just this category. I would not speak like this if you were the only one, and I would never descend to the level of quarreling with you by proxy. But in this case it has become an illness, a real problem. You consider it your right to interfere in our affairs and interpret our policy; you consider it your right to view Ukraine as a part, an outlying area, of Russia. You liked it when Ukraine was obedient... Then, of course, Ukraine and its leaders followed in the footsteps of such democrat representatives. But now the 'nationalist' Kravchuk is defending the interests of Russians, Jews, and Germans... and will continue to defend them, and believes that only here will they find protection and have equal rights. And the democrat Poltoranin and his ilk are taking a different position, and believe they have a right to impose and establish their ways, their laws..."

It was this policy, L. Kravchuk went on to note, which brought extremely serious consequences in its wake in the Baltic, and it could lead to them in other regions. Winding up his speech, L. Kravchuk called the last part of it an emotional outburst of the sort he never allows himself. But everything has its limit, he declared; after all, this concerns not only the Ukrainian president, but all the Ukrainian people. And this "hanba" (disgrace, dishonor, shame, profanation) can be brooked no longer.

It goes without saying that the title of this article should be understood conditionally—the accusations are directed not so much against Poltoranin as against the attitude which, in L. Kravchuk's opinion, has recently been displayed toward Ukraine. And nothing good, as we know, ever comes of conflicts.

Kravchuk Comments on Commonwealth Future

LD1601072592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0330 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovin]

[Text] Tokyo, 16 Jan (TASS)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated that his administration will raise the question of reconsidering the accords on the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] if other republics try to extend their powers within the CIS framework. In his interview with today's ASAHI Japanese newspaper, he stressed that he had spoken to many Commonwealth leaders who also do not agree with the present behavior of Russia, but "keep silent all the time."

Kravchuk accused the Russian Government of interfering in Ukrainian affairs and of wishing to exclusively appropriate the property of the former USSR abroad. According to the president, the Russian media assesses his activities in a rude manner. All this, according to Kravchuk, testifies that Ukraine is seen by Moscow as on the outskirts of Russia.

"Many leaders," he noted, believe that the CIS is almost similar to the former USSR. However, he stressed that a commonwealth should not have structures which give orders and take decisions. There can only be working bodies which help to print and circulate documents of meetings of the CIS leaders. Kravchuk said that Russia cannot willfully change the decisions taken by the entire Commonwealth, and such steps will be regarded as attempts to revive the former centralized regime. In particular, the president accused Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, of sending a telegram to all troops demanding that the former system of subordination be preserved, though a decision on setting up the Ukraine's own army had been taken in Minsk. As things stand, Kravchuk stated, the CIS cannot exist for long. We do not understand calls for setting up single armed forces as the Commonwealth is not a state, he said. Touching on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet, Kravchuk reported that Ukraine regards the subunits equipped with nuclear arms or engaged in servicing them as a strategic part of the fleet.

According to the president, the manufacturing of Ukraine's own currency will be concluded in Canada by June, and it possibly will be put into circulation in August to protect the Republic's property. Kravchuk said that Kiev plans to stabilize its finances with the help of subsidies from the IMF and the World Bank. He stated that his administration is aspiring to join the EC and also plans to include foreign specialists in the Ukrainian Government.

Kravchuk Announces 'Main' Economics Advisor

LD1601053192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ukrainian President Kravchuk has announced that his main economics advisor is 33-year-old Aleksandr Savchenko who has worked at Harvard University in the United States. Kravchuk has said that his advisors will also include Americans.

Government Asked To Resign Over Economy

92UN0631A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 91 p 1

[Article by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent Boris Sverdlov: "Recoiling from the Shelves"]

[Text] Ukraine has simply plunged into liberalization—this is the conclusion reached by the majority of the republic's people's deputies. At a one-day session of the Supreme Soviet before Christmas they categorically demanded the resignation of the government. There were also emergency meetings of the city soviets in all industrial centers of Eastern Ukraine. Everywhere on local television appeals were read to the republic president and Supreme Soviet requesting immediate resignation of the "incompetent" government which had not lifted a finger in defense of the underprivileged, students, and pensioners before the incredible price increase occurred. In the new situation many of them ended up just barely surviving. In the Donbass, for example, prices leapt 10-fold on average. Cooked sausage, which had cost R ruble] 9 before the beginning of the year, now costs R136, butter has jumped from R11 to R179, and sour cream from R3 to R50. More curious and disturbed people have begun to gather in front of the shelves.

National Bank Official on New Currency

LD1501225392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Today in the morning [10 January], the residents of Kiev received numerous leaflets calling to take part in a meeting of protest against the policies of the Republic's government. The leaflets were distributed by the Ukrainian National Assembly, which considers that the policy line carried out by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is anti-popular. The leaders of the Ukrainian National Assembly accuse Prime Minister Vitold Fokin and his team of flirting with the leadership of Russia, which actually imposed price liberalization upon Ukraine at a time when the latter was totally unprepared for this. The Ukrainian National Assembly leaders sharply criticized the prime minister for his procrastination with the introduction of the national currency. The reusable coupons, which have just been put into circulation, are referred to as a [word indistinct] over the national interests of Ukraine. However the government, on its part, believe that the coupons will protect the consumer market in the Republic and serve as transitional money on way toward full-fledged national currency.

Aleksandr Savchenko, deputy chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, gave an interview for Radio Kiev. He

said that by 10 January up to 95 percent of the population in the Ukraine have been provided with the reusable coupons, in compliance with the established law—that is, minimum 200 and maximum 400 coupons per capita. Well, the problem is whether these sums are enough to buy the most basic products. I think there would hardly be enough even to buy ample quantities of food products, said Aleksandr Savchenko. So far, the exchange rate of a coupon per ruble is 1:1, but the real exchange rate will only be determined by the market. I think one coupon will cost two or three rubles, but even as issue of coupons will grow their power value will go down, because coupons are not money in the full meaning of this word.

I don't think such a situation will last long; this process will undermine production because enterprises, even credit ones, will not be interested to earn rubles or coupons. It will be more profitable to sell products for hard currency, and keep it on bank accounts, and wait for better times. This is why I believe we must carry out monetary reforms even on the basis of the coupons we have now, which are actually surrogate money. We must do this without delay; otherwise Ukraine's economy would be ruined entirely. If the reform was carried out on the basis other than market economy the coupons may enter an inflation spiral, and will lose their value in a matter of two or three months, without solving the [word indistinct] task of protecting the consumer market in Ukraine, to say nothing about yet another important task: to stimulate the production of consumer goods and food products.

We shall become poorer with every coming month while the coupons are in circulation, because there is a decline in the production during all the time the coupons are in use. This is why we must concentrate on the soonest possible introduction of our own currency, and creation of political prerequisites for the introduction of our own monetary unit. Theoretically this may be possible to do not earlier than in six months' time, said Aleksandr Savchenko in his interview for Radio Kiev.

Meanwhile the coupons, which are still in short supply in the Ukraine, are being printed in a number of foreign countries. For example, today powerful airplane (?KMT) was loaded with 53 tonnes of new coupons at the Foronda airport in Vitoria, Spain. [sentence as heard] For three months, Spanish photographic enterprise (Graficas Lertxundi) has been fulfilling the order of the government of Ukraine headed by Vitold Fokin. Altogether, 3 billion coupons of various denominations will be printed in Spain and delivered to Ukraine.

Impact of Coupons Introduction 10 Jan Viewed

92UN0631B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Coupons Just as Expensive as the Ruble Introduced"]

[Text] Multiple-use coupons were introduced on the territory of Ukraine yesterday. In the opinion of specialists, this will be one of the major measures for protection of the domestic market of the sovereign state, and it will also make it possible to make up for the shortage of cash money, which at this point is not sufficient even to pay wages.

As distinct from the previous coupons, which were offered in the stores along with the ruble, the new ones, which were printed abroad, are reliably protected against forgery and will essentially become a second money. They are rated with respect to the ruble at 1:1. They may be used to buy food and necessities from the industrial group. At the same time the ruble will be in circulation in the sphere of municipal services and commercial trade and in the markets. For now, most wages will be issued in rubles as well. But in time, as the number of coupons increases, they will become in practice the main form of Ukrainian currency.

Noncash accounts will be kept for deliveries of products among the independent states. Guests of Ukraine will be able to exchange a certain quantity of money for coupons at the bank just as those who are leaving will be given the opportunity to exchange them for rubles.

Problems Noted

LD1501231592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] [Announcer] Coupons have been brought into circulation in the Ukraine. Andrey Direpa reports from Kiev:

[Direpa] Against the background of the passionate arguments over the future of the Black Sea Fleet and Ukraine's armed forces, the significance of 10 January appears to have passed unnoticed. That was the date on which reusable coupons were introduced in our republic. This is, effectively, the second step Ukraine has taken toward its own currency.

Most people are now asking why these coupons could not have been adopted straightaway, without wasting vast sums, first, on the printing of disposable coupons, then $20 million on the printing of the new reusable coupons in France. They are being issued in amounts equivalent to 25 percent of monthly income, but only after tax and other deductions have been paid. The maximum amount of coupons which can be issued for January is 400 and the minimum 200. You can use coupons to buy all types of consumer goods and foodstuffs—if, of course, you can lay your hands on them—and also goods which Ukraine has obtained through barter deals.

However, despite the deregulation of prices and the introduction of a prototype of Ukraine's own currency, neither goods nor food have increased in quantity on the empty shelves. You can only use rubles to pay for food in restaurants, cafes and other public catering establishments. One other thing you can use them for is to buy coal to heat your home.

It will be interesting to see how the government led by Vitold Fokin will explain to the Ukrainian people why goods are still quite unobtainable despite the introduction of coupons which, according to the government, are completely backed by goods. Furthermore, the ordinary shopper cannot avoid asking himself why prices expressed in coupons in state shops still have no corresponding ruble equivalent, although only a quarter of total salary is being paid in coupons, as I already mentioned. According to preliminary calculations, the exchange rate between coupons and rubles should have been 1:20. But only a few days before the introduction of coupons, they were changing hands at prices ranging from 5 to 15 rubles per coupon.

The exchange rate for coupons has still not settled down. Clearly it will take about a week for this to happen.

[Announcer] By the way specialists have calculated that a family of four needs 4,000 coupons to buy enough food for a month, not including fruit and vegetables.

Cabinet Adopts Measures on Dairy Products

PM1401113292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, POST-FACTUM, AP column]

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a resolution on additional measures to ensure social protection of the population in connection with price liberalization.

It stipulates that butter, sour cream, cheeses (with the exception of hard cheeses made with rennet), and other dairy products are to be sold to the population in the first quarter of this year at prices with an upper limit on the rate of increase—namely a factor of three—in relation to the state retail prices that were in operation in 1991.

Cabinet Adopts Resolution on Ports, Transport

LD1401011192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] The Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a resolution on creation of the state administration of the sea transport of Ukraine. The seaports, plants, and other industrial enterprises located on the territory of Ukraine have become an integral part of the new set up establishment.

Ministry Says 'No Nuclear Weapons' by 1 Jul

LD1601100792 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 0100 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The Black Sea Fleet also has become involved in the process of dismantling or removing nuclear weapons beyond Ukraine's borders. As we were informed at the Ukraine Defense Ministry, the nuclear warheads are being transported by rail out of Ukraine to the places where they will be destroyed at the nuclear arms producing plants. By 1 July, there will be no nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory at all.

People's Council Urges Commanders' Resignation

LD1501220692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM corrspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 15 January (TASS)—The People's Council, the association of democratic deputies in the republican parliament, has addressed the president of the Ukraine with the demand for the resignation of Admiral Igor Kasatonov, Colonel General Viktor Chichevatov, and Colonel General Ivan Morozov, respectively commanders of the Black Sea Fleet and of the Kiev and Odessa military districts.

The opposition statement was made public on Ukrainian radio today by Nikolay Porovskiy, Ukrainian people's deputy who is also deputy chairman of this, the republic's biggest public movement. The document says that disguising themselves under the abbreviation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], certain forces are trying to carry out their plans for the revival of the Russian empire. In the opinion of the authors of the statement, only if the Supreme Soviet and the president of the Ukraine are fully in charge of the armed forces, can the state guarantee servicemen and their families social and legal protection, the provision of housing and appropriate salaries. However, the statement says, despite the decisions of the CIS—the Alma-Ata and Minsk accords—the commanders of military okrugs and the fleet and other top military men are trying to oppose this process.

At the Ukrainian Rukh's initiative, picketing started today of the headquarters of the Kiev Military District which will continue until the demands of the People's Council are accepted.

Colonel General Viktor Chichevatov, commander of the troops of the Kiev Military District, left today for Moscow to take part in the army officers assembly. According to reports received from reliable sources Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov will take part in this assembly.

Crimea Issues Statement on Black Sea Fleet

LD1601053792 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Serious concern over the situation which has arisen around the problem of the Black Sea Fleet has been expressed by the Crimean Supreme Soviet Presidium. A statement says that in conditions when social tension has reached its limits, to put in doubt the position of thousands of servicemen and their families means to continue the split in the army, which may lead

to protests by the people. The Presidium of Crimea's parliament has called on the presidents of independent states to urgently hold meetings in order to discuss the problem which has arisen and to adopt a well-considered decision which would meet the interests of all sides.

Cabinet Allocates R350 Million to Fleet

LD1601053392 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in English 0100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] In compliance with the law of Ukraine on social and legal protection of the servicemen and their family members, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has allocated 350 million rubles [R] for the next three months of the year to support the sailors of the Black Sea Naval Fleet.

Odessa Troops Take Oath of Allegiance

LD1201234992 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 12 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Yefim Shvartsman—TASS]

[Text] Odessa January 12 TASS—The border troops stationed in the Ukrainian city of Odessa took an oath of allegiance to Ukraine on Sunday [12 January].

The ceremony was opened by Valeriy Gubenko, commander of the Ukrainian border troops, who became the first to take and sign the oath.

"We are taking the oath of loyalty to the state, on the territory of which we are serving. I've taken the oath together with the troops in order to show that we have made our choice. Our task remains the same—to protect the borders of the sovereign state," Gubenko said.

Military Pilots Consider Pledge of Allegiance

OW1201183792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1445 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An operative group for the monitoring of the situation in the Air Force of what used to be the Soviet Union began its work at the General Headquarters of the Air Force on January 10. The group headed by major-general Aleksander Konev says up to 70% of pilots who serve in the Ukraine and who do not suffer social and other hardships both in the army and in their everyday life are willing to give the pledge of allegiance to the Ukrainian people. As far as younger officers are concerned who came to the Ukraine from other regions of the former Soviet Union, they would like to abstain from taking the oath until January 17 when the All-Army conference of officers' representatives is to pass a decision on the subject.

At the same time a group of officers and cadets of the Kiev Supreme Air-Force Academy has sent a telegram to the Air-Force command saying that taking the oath of allegiance by servicemen at a time when the Ukraine lacks a constitution is an unlawful act.

Moscow Servicemen Want To Serve in Forces

OW1501193892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting of about 400 servicemen—citizens of the Ukraine who serve in units stationed in Moscow and in the Moscow region have supported the Ukraine's decision to form its own armed forces. The meeting held in Moscow approved an appeal to the president and parliament of the Ukraine expressing their support for ordering all Army, Air-Force and Navy units deployed in the republic's territory to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine. The appeal further asks the Ukrainian authorities to take under their protection servicemen who temporarily stay in the territory of the Russian Federation and to make it possible for them to serve in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

News Conference Held on Defense Conversion

LD1601022492 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in English 2200 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] At the news conference in Kiev, Viktor Antonov, state minister on issues of the defense complex and conversion of Ukraine, informed the journalists about the facts which quite recently were considered to be secret. Thus, for example, he informed that the military and industrial complex of Ukraine has more than 700 plants with more than 1 million workers and engineers. The complex has an industrial potential which allows to provide the republic's army with everything necessary. A plan has already been elaborated for transferring part of the military plant to the output of peaceful goods. Conversion will cost Ukraine nearly $200 million.

Further on Shipbuilding Conversion

LD1101100692 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Conversion of the military-industrial complex is producing its first tangible results. Our correspondent Petro Tolochyk reports:

[Tolochyk] It is said that nowhere else in the world is there such a modern output of ships as in Mykolayiv. [passage omitted] In particular, the production association at the shipbuilding yard named after the 61st Communard is building floating hotels instead of cruisers, and moreover, it is building them to fulfill orders of foreign firms. In particular, two such hotels have already been handed over to the Danish firm (Marium Troyd Shekst) More than 400 people at a time can be accommodated on them in cabin rooms. [passage omitted] But the next ship will be handed over, as they say, on a turnkey basis. There is already such an agreement with Danish businessmen. [passage omitted]

Another shipbuilding yard—there are three of them in the town—established contacts with foreign firms somewhat earlier. This is the Okean yard. It is now specializing in bulk carriers. [passage omitted] Five such vessels have already been sold. Each of them is able to take on up to 50,000 tonnes of ore or other bulk materials.

As for the flagship of Ukrainian shipbuilding, the association of the Black Sea Shipbuilding Yard, then here they should be setting up production of tankers with a deadweight of 40-45,000 tonnes. [passage omitted]

In this way conversion of military shipbuilding has started working for independent Ukraine.

Belarus

Shushkevich, Landsbergis Discuss Cooperation

LD1101095392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] On 3 and 4 January a meeting was held between Belarus Supreme Soviet chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman Vytautas Landsbergis in Belarus. Information on this meeting was published only today, 8 January. Here is what our Minsk correspondent reports by phone:

[Correspondent] Only on 8 January has the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet's press center published an official communique signed in the [word indistinct] by Stanislav Shushkevich and Vytautas Landsbergis. During the meeting they discussed questions of developing relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Belarus, and also other issues of mutual interest. The chairmen (?agreed) that an agreement between Lithuania and Belarus on the principles of trade and economic cooperation and a treaty on the basis of interstate relations will be signed in the very near future.

During the meeting Shushkevich informed Landsbergis about the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and its intended mutual relations with other states. Vytautas Landsbergis described the point of view of the Republic of Lithuania on the issue of the former USSR's debt. Both leaders discussed the coming demarcation of borders between the two states, work on which has already begun. [passage indistinct]

The chairmen were of one opinion regarding the necessity of ensuring the free development of the culture of ethnic minorities, including the unhindered creation of Lithuanian schools in Belarus and Belarussian ones in Lithuania. The two leaders agreed that the creation of territorial autonomies is unacceptable since this would encourage the appearance of new centers of tension in the region. Another reason for the appearance of interethnic (?tension) could be attempts to interpret confederal features as national [word indistinct] ones. The two chairmen condemned any nationalism leading to confrontation between peoples. They spoke in favor of mutual understanding and all-round cooperation at state level.

The two sides recognized the expediency of creating a joint group of experts in order to examine individual, specific problems arising during the transfer period to diverse cooperation between two sovereign states.

United Democratic Party Supports Presidency

OW1501193192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The United Democratic Party of Belarus has expressed its concern about the crisis of state authority which comes on top of the republic's economic and political crises.

The party's council believes that it is an introduction of the presidency that could lead Belarus out of the deadlock. Bringing this about, its statement says, would require introducing appropriate changes into the current constitution or passing a new one as soon as possible. In addition, a presidential election should be held to form "a government independent of the conservative Supreme Soviet, one that would start with decisive reforms without having to wait for the parliament's reelection."

The party suggests that simultaneously with presidential elections a referendum should be held so as to deliver a non-confidence vote to the current Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus.

Popular Front Calls for Vote of Confidence

OW1101195392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A congress of the Belarussian Popular Front has opened in Minsk. Among other questions its agenda includes organization of the campaign on collecting signatures in support of a referendum on confidence in the present Supreme Council.

Belarussian MP [member of parliament] Sergey Naumchik taking part in the congress told IF [INTERFAX]: "We believe time has come for the Supreme Council to dissolve and to hold new elections."

Since the parliament is unlikely to take this step, the deputy added, such a decision should be made by the people in accordance with the Belarussian law on referendums. 350,000 signatures are needed to hold a referendum. "We think we will collect them within a week," Naumchik said.

Protocol Ratified on Civil, Political Rights

LD1101051792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Minsk, 10 Jan (TASS)—Today the Belarus parliament ratified a protocol attached to the international pact on civil and political rights. Now that they have joined it, the citizens of Belarus will be allowed to appeal to the Committee for Human Rights after exhausting all the means of legal and judicial defense envisaged by the republic's legislation.

Kostenko Appointed Acting Defense Minister

OW1401024992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Belarus parliament decided to appoint Colonel-General Anatoliy Kostenko, commander of the Belarus military district, acting defense minister of Belarus. He is in contr.. of all armed forces in Belarus territory.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] Kostenko said that the Belarussian parliament had taken the correct decision when it made all troops on Belarus territory, save for the strategic forces, accountable to the republican Council of Ministers. Kostenko said that Belarus' decisions were balanced, in contrast to the hasty decisions of the Russian and Ukrainian leaders.

Wage Tax of 18% Imposed for Chernobyl Expenses

LD1501185292 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By unidentified BELTA correspondent]

[Text] Minsk January 15 TASS—In search of ways out of grave difficulties caused by the Chernobyl 1986 nuclear disaster, Belarussian parliamentarians adopted a decision to introduce a 18 percent wage tax on their citizens. Farmers will be relieved of paying the tax. Even this unpopular step will provide only half the money necessary.

Only Russia has confirmed its determination to pay its share of 17 billion rouble annual expenses for the Chernobyl programme. Foreign states also made their contributions while other Commonwealth states refuse to participate because of their own problems.

Republic Allocates Currency Production Funds

LD1601151692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] According to reports from Minsk, the Belarus Supreme Soviet has decided to release funds this year for construction of a mint for printing its new money. One million rubles is being allocated for this purpose. Belarus national currency, production of which is scheduled to begin this year, will be called taller.

Officers Stationed Outside Republic To Return

LD1601064292 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Leonid Tratsevsky]

[Text] Minsk January 15 TASS—More than 170 officers have already returned to Belarus after refusing to be stationed outside their native republic, officials in the Belarussian military district told TASS today. Some will have no difficulty in finding new army jobs, others, however, could find themselves in dire straights.

There is no problem with young officers, they will be assigned to local units in line with their speciality, but older servicemen, who have just a couple of years to go before retirement, are a problem, said Belarus military district personnel chief Major General Anatoliy Fomin.

"Under current laws we can keep them on our payroll for a maximum of two months, and then they should be discharged without a pension or assigned to a unit," Fomin said.

There are now more than 1,500 are already waiting to be assigned in the district, following troop reductions in Eastern Europe, he said.

Fomin believes the republic needs a new legislation to ensure social protection for officers and their families. "The chairman of the Belarus parliament promised not to leave servicemen to the fate's mercy," he said.

So far, no soldiers serving in other republics have been allowed to move home despite pleas by parents to allow their children to serve in their native state, military officials said.

Republic To Import 2 Million Tonnes of Grain

PM1601113192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "Belarus Will Buy Grain Abroad"]

[Text] A Belarus Council of Ministers resolution on the decision to buy at least 2 million tonnes of grain on the world market has been made public in Minsk.

Purchases will be made not with foreign credits but using the funds of Belarussian enterprises.

Moldova

Snegur Tells Executives To Show Initiative

LD1301112492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Kishinev, 11 Jan (TASS)—At a meeting today between members of Moldova's Cabinet of Ministers and mid-level leaders, President Mircea Snegur criticized the activities of executive authorities at all levels. He urged leaders to show more initiative and independence in this transition period, without waiting for instructions from the center, as in the past.

The meeting was told that a decree granting extra powers to local self-management bodies will be signed very soon.

Mircea Snegur also reproached the mass media for "whipping up passions, concentrating on the negative side of things and not giving publicity to advanced know-how", as he put it.

Meets With Military

LD1501231892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0840 GMT 11 Jan 92

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] In Kishinev a meeting has taken place between Moldova's President Mircea Snegur and the commanders of the military units stationed in the republic. Our correspondent Mihai Sokirke should be with us on the telephone now. Mihai, can you hear me?

[Sokirke] Yes I can.

[Correspondent] Good morning!

[Sokirke] Good morning. I will start by saying that, as is know, in Minsk the right of the former USSR republics to set up their own armies was confirmed. Proceeding from this, by a decree of Moldova's president, all military units stationed on the republic's territory have been taken under its jurisdiction. A right and lawful decision, but a multitude of questions arise in this connection. For instance, what about the oath? Who will finance the newly established Army? Will the social protection of servicemen and their families be guaranteed? There are many other questions. Therefore, in my view—this, by the way, was the second meeting between the republic's leadership and the commanders of the units and sub-units—was both useful and necessary.

Moldova's President Mircea Snegur informed the meeting that the government takes upon itself the full financing of the Army and guarantees servicemen's social security. In the near future a structure for improving the Army will be drawn up on a collegial basis, and jointly with representation of the units.

Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy replied to many questions of a welfare nature. In particular, it was decided to set up a joint coordinating committee to defend the social rights of servicemen and their families, and also to start joint work on setting up the Army of the Republic of Moldova.

However, as far as the oath of allegiance is concerned, the following variant was proposed: During the transition period each officer must decide in which Army of what Commonwealth state he wishes to serve. After this—he has decided to serve in Moldova—he assumes its citizenship and takes an oath of allegiance to the republic. I will stress that this will be done, as was said at the meeting, on an absolutely voluntary basis. So that in my view, one more serious step has been taken toward a mutual understanding with the Army, the protection of its interests, and the interests of the people.

[Correspondent] You know, Mihai, I listened very closely to your dispatch and what is gratifying is that on the whole the meeting laid down the foundations of a transition period and for the oath of allegiance, and on the whole a rational approach can be also be seen here: Those who wish this may do so and those who do not wish may not. Nevertheless, in my view, the upkeep of the Army on Moldova's territory will cost a pretty penny and will be a considerable burden for the local budget.

[Sokirke] That is of course true, but very extensive work by experts is underway now and, it is true, at the meeting it was proposed that joint work should be conducted with representatives of the units and sub-units in order to somehow get out of this situation and find the optimum variant for resolving this issue.

[Correspondent] Well, thank you very much. One must ask of course search for a compromise solution, and we will continue our panorama.

Sworn In at Solemn Session

OW1501154492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [15 January] at a solemn session of Moldova's parliament Mircea Snegur who was elected president on December 8 last year has been sworn in.

Addressing the legislature, Mircea Snegur pointed out: when electing their president the people unambiguously voted for an independent Moldova.

According to the president, at the moment one of the most difficult problems is to form a team of government officials capable of ensuring cooperation between all political forces that wish prosperity to the tiny state of Moldova.

With reference to domestic policies the president said that they should be based on democracy, human rights observance and the equity of 3 powers: legislative, executive and juridical. According to M. Snegur, the leading role in this will be played by Moldova's new constitution that has to be adopted as soon as possible.

President Snegur reaffirmed his adherence to the civilized and peaceful methods of resolving political and, above all, ethnic problems. The situation on the left bank of the Dnestr and in the south of Moldova remains strained, he said. According to Mircea Snegur, the tactics of reconciliation, respect for Moldova's laws, renunciation of political ambitions and false orientations will lead to the long-awaited civic peace in Moldova.

Savings Bank Transformed to Moldovan Bank

LD1101064992 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 1300 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] By decision of the Moldovan parliament, the republican bank of the USSR Savings Bank has been transformed into the Savings Bank of Moldova. The Savings Bank of Moldova keeps the right to a portion of the Union bank property which it held in the Savings Bank of the former USSR. According to the resolution

adopted by the Moldovan parliament, the republic's Savings Bank is to take over the buildings, facilities, capital, and current assets from the republican bank of the USSR Savings Bank as existing on 1 January 1991 [as heard].

To Switch to Coupons When Rubles Run Out

AU0701145192 Paris AFP in English 1432 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], Moldova Jan 7 (AFP)—Moldova plans to switch to coupons when its reserves of rubles run out in about a month, Leonid Talmaci, the governor of the Bank of Moldova said in an interview published here Tuesday [14 January].

Talmaci told the daily SFATUL TARII that the coupons would be put into circulation and would serve as currency in tandem with the ruble until Moldova introduced its own national currency later this year.

Prime Minister Valeriy Muravski told Moldovan television separately that the coupons would be put into circulation from February 1.

He said the government planned to inject some two billion rubles into the economy during the introduction of price liberalization measures.

Price Liberalization 'Only First Step'

LD1301111192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0754 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Kishinev, 11 Jan (TASS)—Republic Prime Minister Valeriy Muravski held a news conference at the Union of Journalists of Moldova on 10 January. He presented the government's action program for the transition to a market economy, dwelling on the main features connected with price liberalization, enterprise and competition development, destruction of monopolism, removal of state control and privatization.

The prime minister stressed that only the first step toward the market had been made by liberalizing prices. This overdue step demonstrates that the future will be complicated. The government adheres to the opinion that no matter how difficult it might be there is no other way. Soon, the supreme economic council, under the republic's president, will consider a complex privatization program, to be approved later by the parliament. A government program to reform the economy will be presented for the consideration of the supreme legislative body in the republic.

Valeriy Muravski noted that it is necessary to implement some reforms simultaneously with other Commonwealth of Independent States countries since the former USSR republics are connected by a single economic zone in which the ruble operates. Their economies are linked by millions of threads which cannot be artificially broken.

Replying to journalists' questions, he agreed that resolving the financial problem and switching to one's own currency is one of the most complicated problems. There are several options for its solution, among others—the introduction of a Romanian leu. This will be difficult to implement not only politically but economically as well since it is necessary to create a single zone where this currency will operate.

Tougher Measures Sought Against Cooperatives

PM1401114492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, POST-FACTUM, AP column]

[Text] Cooperative members in the republic [Moldova] last year acquired goods worth a total of more than 900,000 rubles from the state sector. These products were sold at speculative prices, which enabled the cooperative members to make fabulous profits.

The Moldova Ministry of Internal Affairs collegium, assessing this as unearned income, deems that the republic needs its own law "On Cooperatives," in which specific measures against economic crimes would be stipulated.

Order Issued To Improve Market Situation

LD1601123192 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Order issued by the Government of the Republic of Moldova; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] At the present time, there are increasingly frequent instances of an abnormal situation on the consumer market. Despite the transition on 2 January this year to a liberalization of prices, enterprises producing consumer and household goods are not marketing stocks of goods built up at warehouses up to 1 January this year nor output produced in the first half of January this year. Such a position cannot be described as anything other than an attempt to destabilize the consumer market and to establish monopolistic dictatorship of prices, imposed by the republic's trading organizations, or, more accurately, economic sabotage.

With the aim of improving this position on the consumer market and eliminating the blatant violations being committed, within a period of 10 days the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova—Koshtash; the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Moldova—Lukyanov; and the Department of State Control of the Republic of Moldova—Yug; are instructed to organize a meticulous check of enterprises producing consumer and household goods, to take the necessary measures to eliminate the violations committed, and to inform the Government of the Republic of Moldova about the work carried out.

[Signed] Valeriu Muravski, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova

Interior Minister Meets Ukrainian Counterpart

AU1401184692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1201 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/1/1992—An official working sitting was held at Soroca, attended by the minister of the interior of the Republic of Moldova, Ion Costas, and his Ukrainian counterpart, Andrei Valisin, announced MOLDOVA PRES.

The diary included, among other things, the taking of measures to counter law infractions at the frontier between the two countries, the prevention of economic offenses.

A joint communique was signed that is going to be published.

Cooperation Treaty Signed With Azerbaijan

LD1601053592 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] An agreement on the principles for trade and economic cooperation between Moldova and Azerbaijan for the current year was signed in Kishinev today. The sides agreed to maintain the supply of products and consumer goods at a level no lower than that of 1990. They also agreed not to introduce any restrictions on the establishment of direct economic links between enterprises.

Resolution Adopted on Temporary Consular Posts

LD1601052792 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Excerpts] With the aim of creating optimum conditions for political, economic, and cultural relations of Moldova with other states and intergovernmental organizations and of simplifying the system of organizing entry and exit visas from the country for officials and private persons, the republic government has adopted a resolution on the opening of temporary consular posts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova.

In accordance with the document adopted, in the first quarter of this year, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the republic will adopt three temporary consular posts—at Kishinev Airport, at the border crossing point of Ungeny, and the border crossing point of Lyushen. There are to be three officials for each of them: one first secretary, one second secretary, and one senior inspector. [passage omitted]

Payment for consular services in arranging transit and entrance/exit visas will be carried out in freely convertible hard currency according to tariffs approved by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance of the Republic of Moldova.

New Newspaper Published by Moldovan Russians

LD1601051992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] RUSSKIY DOM [Russian House]: this is the name of a new newspaper whose publication started in Moldova. It will be published by the republic's Russian culture center. The newspaper is intended for a wide circle of readers and, in particular, is addressed to all Russians residing in this region—there are 562,000.

Moscow TV Programs Disrupted for Residents

PM1601143192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

["Rejoinder" by student Inna Mayman: "Metamorphoses, Metamorphoses..."]

[Text] Beltsy—Russian Television died suddenly on the territory of Moldova 1 January 1992.

According to a report from the Technical Communications Systems Directorate of the republic Ministry of Computer Technology, Information, and Communications, on that day "the lease on the facilities used to retransmit the second program (Moscow) expired." The republic's television supplemented the sorrowful news with the following detail: In this new year Russian Television has refused to pay Moldovan Television for the lease of the technical facilities used to relay the second program.

The republic's viewers honored the memory of the now silent channel by forming an honor guard by their television sets. The bright image of Russian Television will long remain in their hearts.

But, as usual, misfortunes do not come singly. Another misfortune has simultaneously befallen the 160,000-strong television audience in the city of Beltsy: Central Television, which always used to be carried on the first channel, has been moved to the third, and [Moldovan] national television to the first. What, you might think, is the difference? For changing the places of the elements does not change the sum total. In this case, however, the axiom does not stand up to a practical test. Broadcasts of the "Ostankino" television company can now be watched only by those residents who acquired new models of "boxes" in time. The rest will have to acquire special attachments or fall back on collective antennas.

It is also rather difficult for the people of Beltsy to be patriots of the republic's television because the local newspaper GOLOS BELTS [Voice of Beltsy] stopped providing information about its programs after it was set an ultimatum last year: Kindly pay to publish the programs!

The statement that was made in the "Mesadzher" news program appeared all the more ridiculous. It was said that the decision on the new distribution of interstate and

national television among the channels was made "in accordance with numerous requests from residents of the city of Beltsy." I have spent a long time among my fellow countrymen looking for just one who has put such a request to "people at the top." Alas, I have not found any. Whereas the "death" of Russian Television on the territory of Moldova can, if you like, be blamed on financial reasons, the reason for the television metamorphosis that has occurred in Beltsy remains mysterious. However, what mystery is there here?

Kazakhstan

Actions Related to Price Liberalization Viewed

Food Prices Set

LD1301014292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2007 GMT 12 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] On January 12 Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev signed a decree on setting fixed state prices for a number of essential food products in the first calendar quarter of 1992.

According to the decree, all types of bread and bread products, and the flour sometimes sold to the residents of the Republic instead of bread, as well as dairy products with the exception of butter and cheeses, will be sold at the prices fixed by the state.

The presidential decree orders that the Alma-Ata city and regional executive committees should transfer within a week no less than 10 percent of food shops in all major cities and regional centers under the control of collective farms and meat and dairy products processing factories in order to organize trade in food products.

'Social Explosion' Warned

LD1401224292 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0800 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] The republican social protection coalition, which includes the overwhelming majority of parties, public organizations and movements, noted at its meeting that the liberalization of prices has placed the population of Kazakhstan in intolerable conditions, fraught with a social explosion. The republican government has no real methods of providing social protection for various sections of society and has exhausted the limits of popular trust, the coalition's statement stresses. Plans are to discuss the question of how to escape from the crisis on 14 January at a working meeting with Republic President Nursultan Nazarbayev, and also at an expanded conference of the social protection coalition with the participation of chairmen of labor collectives. Plans are to hold a city-wide rally as a means of democratically expressing the people's will. The time and place of the conference and the rally will be announced later through the mass media.

Socialist Party Statement

LD1601061492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0912 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 15 Jan (TASS)—The Political Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan, which considers itself to be the juridical successor of the former Communist Party, has circulated a statement here today regarding the republic's price liberalization. It believes that those methods that are being implemented by the relevant decree of President Nursultan Nazarbayev are discrediting the process of the undoubtedly necessary changeover of the economy to market relations and are putting society in a critical situation. A considerable part of the population has now found itself in the humiliating position of people who are destitute: instead of the proposed, and what is even without that, a manifold increase in the prices of the basic consumer goods and services, in a number of cases prices have risen 10-20 or more times and frequently exceed those on the market. Supporting the recent actions by the executive authority regarding the expansion of the list of food on which quite acceptable fixed prices have been established, the Political Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan is insisting on the adoption of urgent measures to speed up the process of privatization of trading, public catering, and service enterprises, to build up all production and especially that of consumer goods and food, and to intensify the struggle against increasing corruption and the wild outburst of crime.

Free Economic Zones Formed

PM1501150392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX, BALTFAX column]

[Text] The Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on the creation of new free economic zones: East Kazakhstan, Mangistau, Alakul, and Zharkent.

For example, the mining and smelting complex forms the basis of the East Kazakhstan economic zone. In the Mangistau economic zone, which is in western Kazakhstan and includes the continental shelf and islands of the Caspian Sea, there are industrial stocks of oil, gas, lignite, and ferrous, nonferrous, and rare earth metal ores. The Alakul and Zharkent free economic zones in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, which border on China, are hoping to attract foreign capital, INTERFAX reports.

Nazabayev Preparing Decree on Privatization

OW1301142192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Shortly, the government of Kazakhstan is to pass a decree on the privatization of 10 to 15 per cent of state property, President Nazarbayev told managers of Kazakhstan's chemical, machine-building and steel enterprises on Saturday.

Mr. Nazarbayev also said that Boris Yeltsin's recent decree on the protection of the Russian market, as well as his ban on exporting (?60) commodity items might cause

stoppages of the industrial enterprises which depended on raw-material supplies from Russia.

President Calls on Public To Support Reform

OW1501183492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A critical social and political situation in the Republic requires joint actions by the government and the public opinion, president Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan said at a meeting with leaders of the Social Protection Coalition on January 14. The public organization was founded late last year to protect the Republic's population from hardships during a transition to a market economy. The coalition is composed of dozens of leading political parties and public organizations of Kazakhstan.

Mr. Nazarbayev noted during the discussion that the pressure by rallies and strikes which the coalition threatens to exert on the government cannot bring about anything except chaos. In his opinion, what is needed is patience to wait and see the difficult time pass, after which the situation will improve.

The Kazakh president closed the meeting with an appeal to the democratic forces asking them to support reforms currently under way. The issue of rallies and strikes, however, was left unresolved.

Seminar on Foreign Economic Activity Held

Nazarbayev Attends

OW1501194092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the 70 years of the Soviet power Kazakhstan's economy has acquired "a pronounced raw materials orientation", president Nursultan Nazarbayev said in his opening remarks to a two-day seminar on foreign economic operations in Alma-Ata on Wednesday [15 January].

Alongside heads of ministries, departments and large enterprises of Kazakhstan the meeting is attended by over 120 big foreign firms.

"The Republic will find it difficult to find a place in the world market", Mr Nazarbayev said, "without a close cooperation with industrialized countries and without foreign investments." In his view, "investing into defense enterprises" with their high R&D and productive potential would be very profitable" for foreign investors. [quotation marks as received]

'Necessary To Integrate' Market

LD1601063692 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Vladimir Cherkizov]

[Text] Alma-Ata January 15 TASS—The first conference on Kazakhstan's external economic activity problems was held at the residency of president of the republic. It is necessary to integrate in the international market, particularly for economic development of Kazakhstan and prosperity of its people, President Nursultan Nazarbayev said addressing the participants, including over one hundred representatives of foreign firms. Foreign investments will go for the development of social sector. The government will create favourable conditions for foreign investments. The president promised to restore the tradition of organizing so called "Karkara", international trade fair.

Kazakhstan exports goods under three hundred brand names to over eighty countries, the minister for external economic relations, Cizdik Abishev said. The imports will exceed one billion U.S. dollars. Future activities will be directed towards stablisating [word as received] the economic situation and accelerating reform of the national economy through attracting foreign investments, advanced know-how and the world experience of management. The republic intends to work in close contact with the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and establish official relations with the GATT (General Agreements on Tarrifs and Trade).

President Nazarbaev received a group of foreign entrepreneurs to discuss aspects of integrating the republic in international market.

Cabinet Reviews Current Socioeconomic Status

LD1301121992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] What is Kazakhstan's current socioeconomic situation? How will it overcome the difficulties of the period of transition to a market? To a certain extent, these questions were answered by a report of the republican Cabinet of Ministers delivered by its prime minister, Sergey Tereshchenko. The final stage of the seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which will last 10 days, is devoted to economic questions. These include the setting up of the Alakul and Dzharkent free economic zones in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, the setting up the East Kazakh and Mangizstauz free economic zones and the special peculiarities of the privatization of the property of state agricultural enterprises. I will also note the question of urgent measures for the radical transformation of the living conditions of the population in the Aral Sea region.

UN Environmental Program Document Signed

LD1001185192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Olga Babiy—TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 8 Jan (TASS)—A memorandum on mutual cooperation between the Kazakhstan Government and UNEP, an international organization implementing a UN environmental program, was signed in the Republic's capital today. The document envisages coordination of efforts for mobilizing the international public to save the Aral Sea and to restore a normal habitable environment in regions neighboring the former Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. It is also proposed to attract the world community to the solution of other ecological problems and the prevention of further destruction of nature.

Nazarbayev Meets U.S. Deputy Secretary of State

PM1601111392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Vladimir Ardayev: "N. Nazarbayev Has Met With U.S. Deputy Secretary of State"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A meeting and talk has been held in Alma-Ata between Republic of Kazakhstan President N. Nazarbayev and R. Fauvre, U.S. deputy secretary of state for economic questions.

President N. Nazarbayev's press service has reported that during the talk there was a discussion of specific questions of rendering technical and humanitarian aid to Kazakhstan. There was talk of economic reform and an assessment of the situation in the republic. There was also a discussion of the ways by which aid from foreign investors from the Western countries can be attracted.

R. Fauvre brought with him draft documents from which it is possible to conclude agreements—after the Kazakh leadership has studied and assessed them. It is a case of direct treaties with the United States on U.S. investments in Kazakhstan and on most-favored nation status for Kazakhstan in trade. When N. Nazarbayev visits the United States in the first half of this year at President B. Bush's invitation, these documents may be signed.

At the meeting there was also a discussion of questions connected with the forthcoming 22-23 January U.S. conference of leaders of the major Western states, which will examine problems of rendering humanitarian aid to the states which used to belong to the former Soviet Union. An agreement has been reached that deliveries of humanitarian aid to Kazakhstan be made to specific oblasts, rayons, cities, and so forth. The republic will receive medical supplies, food, and feed grain, deliveries of which have already begun.

Sources Deny 1967 Presence of U.S. POW

PM1601114592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Ardayev: "U.S. Prisoner Not Found in Kazakhstan"]

[Text] The Kazakh DANAPRESS news agency, citing official sources, has denied a report in the weekly KOMMERSANT citing former KGB General O. Kalugin's claim that a U.S. prisoner of war captured in Vietnam was in transit in the workers' settlement of Saryshagan (Dzhezkazgan Oblast) in 1967.

Ministry Remarks on Official Sister's Murder

PM1601133592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 92 Moscow Edition p 6

[Report by Olegh Stefashin: "The Killer Was Not Taking Revenge on The Russian Minister"]

[Text] The Republic of Kazakhstan Internal Affairs Ministry press center has denied reports by some media saying that the murder of Russian Press and Information Minister M. Poltoranin's sister in Chimkent at the end of last year was allegedly politically motivated.

That was the conclusion arrived at, in particular, by the Russian television journalist, who announced rather categorically in the program "Fifth Wheel" that the crime was revenge against M. Poltoranin for the public exposes he carried out during his work as PRAVDA's own correspondent for Kazakhstan.

The investigation materials show quite clearly that the motive behind the killing of the Russian minister's sister was robbery.

Establishment of National Guard Reported

NC1401123192 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] The Kazakh Security Council adopted a decision on 10 January to establish a national guard unit in Kazakhstan. The national guard unit will be composed of 2,000 men. [passage indistinct]

Republic Said Owner of 'Nuclear Legacy'

92US0183A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, Jan 92 p 3

[Article by V. Isayev, department chief at the Oriental Studies Institute, under the rubric "Authoritative Opinion": "Hands Extended to the Nuclear Button"]

[Text] At the end of last December in different corners of the world two events occurred which are externally unrelated to one another in any way: PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat made a brief visit to the capital of Kazakhstan and Islamic Fundamentalists won a convincing victory in the first round of elections in Algeria.

It is known that Algeria has been working on developing its own nuclear program for a fairly long time and without much success. In its implementation it relies on an agreement concluded with China in 1972. Let us recall, incidentally, that China has not yet signed the Agreement for Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. According to certain information, the Algerians are also exchanging nuclear information with Iraq. The UN experts who inspected the Iraqi nuclear installations after Iraq's failed aggression against Kuwait stated that some of the uranium accumulated by Iraq which was suitable for producing an atomic bomb had disappeared. After a certain amount of time this uranium floated to the surface... in Algeria. In the Western press there was an announcement that a group of Iraqi nuclear physicists had also ended up in Algeria. It is possible that this information should be regarded as normal cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of peaceful nuclear energy engineering. But at least two considerations put us on guard: the character of the Iraqi regime, which is now known throughout the world, and the victory of Muslim Fundamentalists in the elections in Algeria.

The fact that the PLO has extremely "warm" relations with Saddam Husayn's regime is generally known. But one should not forget that it also has these ties with Algeria, whose leaders have been captivated by the moods of the "Arab street," which since the autumn of 1990 has been exulting in an attack of "Saddamomania." And the PLO has never forgotten that Algeria is one of the economically and militarily most powerful Arab countries, which also has two operational nuclear reactors. There is evidence that another reactor is in the stage of construction. Contacts with Algeria became especially important to the PLO leaders after they ended up in deep political isolation after the failure of the Iraqi adventure.

Under these conditions Y. 'Arafat on his flight from China stops off in Kazakhstan. The questions arise quite naturally: Why Kazakhstan in particular and not, say, Uzbekistan? Is it not because Kazakhstan has now become one of the owners of part of the nuclear "legacy" of the former USSR? It would be interesting to know how the "equivocal" figure of 'Arafat appeared in Alma-Ata. Who sent the invitation? Or did the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan decide to begin to establish diplomatic relations not with sovereign states but with the PLO? It would be interesting to know Alma-Ata's answers to these questions.

Becoming Muslim Leader; Has 'Strong Influence'

PM1401134192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Frolov under "Observer's Opinion" rubric: "Nuclear Factor: Alpha and Omega"]

[Text] How not to annoy Russia? This question has become the most important one since the breakup of the USSR, which has given rise to a totally new geopolitical situation. Choosing friends and allies, domestic and foreign policy priorities means taking into consideration a host of new factors—not only economic and military-political, but also cultural, sociopsychological, and religious.

Thus, while subscribing to the agreement setting up the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], Kazakhstan, unlike the Ukraine and Belarus, has not expressed a desire to become a nuclear-free state. What is behind this?

I think that it reflectsd not Kazakhstan's individual stance, but the coordinated interests of the other five states with a predominantly Muslim population—Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—in the face of the tripartite Belovezhskaya agreement, which has willy-nilly divided the territory of the Union into two regions: a Christian-Slav and a Turko-Muslim region. Since the first region includes a nuclear power, it is quite natural that the second has not run the risk of being left without a comparable leader.

Any political division on religious, cultural, and psychological grounds always could have dangerous consequences. Especially since it bodes no good for Russia, which has stood at the junction of the Christian and Islamic worlds from time immemorial. A one-sided orientation—even if it is justified by something as dear to Russians as Slav unity—is not in Russia's interests.

The "Forest trio" do not even seem to have realized that, by preparing and signing the Belovezhskaya agreement behind Nazarbayev's back, they severely hurt the feelings of our Central Asian brothers. Everything indicates that, whereas Kravchuk and Shushkevich are far removed from Asian problems, the behavior of the Russian president, whose country shares a border roughly 5,000km long with Kazakhstan from the Caspian to Altay, is simply incomprehensible.

It is our good fortune that the Kazakh president proved himself for the umpteenth time to be a moderate, balanced politician and did not allow this tactlessness to turn to conflict. But facts are facts: Yeltsin and his closest advisers were not able to correctly assess the alignment of forces and Kazakhstan's place in it.

In response came Kazakhstan's calm but firm decision on strategic nuclear weapons, immediately dramatically enhancing its geopolitical status. The nuclear forces on its territory include a total of 1,360 warheads [boyezaryady] (104 SS-18's, the world's most powerful silo-based ICBM's, each with 10 warheads, and 40 Tu-95 strategic bombers each carrying eight cruise missiles). This represents roughly one-eighth of the Commonwealth's strategic offensive arms and more than those of France and Britain put together. The fact that Kazakhstan will still own the Baykonyr cosmodrome and the Semipalatinsk nuclear test range is equally important.

At present it is not so important for all this to be assessed properly. However, as the first Muslim nuclear and space

power Kazakhstan is the potential leader, if not of the entire Islamic world, then at any rate of a considerable part of it. A factor of crucial, global significance is the fact that the "Islamic bomb" which a number of countries are now working on **already exists.** Although it is under joint CIS control and although Kazakhstan does not as yet have its own installations producing nuclear munitions and delivery vehicles, the moral effect of this factor on the world at large is tremendous and will increase as Kazakhstan's real independence is reinforced.

At the same time Russia and Kazakhstan are becoming increasingly dependent on one another. In becoming a Muslim leader, Kazakhstan is acquiring a strong influence within the Russian Federation itself, primarily in the Muslim republics of the North Caucasus and the Volga region. Moreover it attracts the racial sympathies of Kalmyk, Buryat, Yakut, and other peoples. Last, despite the foolish attempts to present Central Asia as "living off" Russia, Russian national-patriotic forces are gradually coming to realize the specific problems faced by Muslim peoples both within the CIS and worldwide. For its part, the Republic of Kazakhstan with its roughly 40-percent Slav population is also objectively interested in good-neighborliness and a friendly alliance with Russia.

In these conditions to create the slightest threat of mutual wrangling, as happened in the Forest, let alone to get involved in a territorial dispute with Kazakhstan as in Solzhenitsyn's "feasible considerations," is to be politically blind and thoughtless.

Life is directly confronting Russia with the question of the need to radically modernize its policy in Asia and and shift many priorities to this sector. It is undoubtedly necessary to start by stepping up cooperation with our Central Asian neighbors and by resolving the accumulated disputes in this sphere in a mutually acceptable way. Suffice it to point, for instance, to such double-edged problems as the plowing up of the virgin lands, that is, the steppe pastures in Kazakhstan, the transformation of cotton into Uzbekistan's agricultural monoculture, and the position of the Russian population...

There will be no easy solutions, but Rus and the Great Steppe have more than 1,000 years' experience of relations which was by no means always accompanied by all-around confrontation. There is no doubt about the diverse, beneficial material and spiritual interinfluence of the two superethnic groups. You can read about that in books by the Kazakh Olzhas Suleymenov and the Russian Lev Gumilev. It would be the height of stupidity to ignore this now that the question of Russia's choosing its own original path of development has become acute.

The model into which Russia is now being insistently squeezed on the pretext of "returning to civilization" presupposes the development of some regions at the expense of artificially draining others. The West needs Russia not as an industrial center and high-tech competitor, but as a new Third World region—a source of raw materials and cheap manpower and a dump for industrial waste. Our Central Asian neighbors, on the other hand, have an objective economic interest in a strong Russia. We can help one another if we are able to avail ourselves of the good elements in our experience of mutual relations, casting aside forever the "paternalism" so humiliating to both sides that made Russia view the East in the way that the West views Russia.

Some 70 years ago in his political testament Lenin wrote that the outcome of world development ultimately depends on Russia, India, China, and other Eastern countries, forming the vast majority of the population and united by a common need to become civilized.

Many concrete things have changed since then, but the overall sense of the forecast is still correct. To this day the majority of the earth's population remain adjuncts of the Western capitalist civilization to which it "exports" its own social conflicts. All serious analysts recognize that a global crisis is approaching in the development that is based on degradation. An alternative is needed, based on truly panhuman Western and Eastern values and not on a truncated, bourgeois version of them.

Correspondingly, the question of the prospects for Russian-Kazakh relations is "linked" to this. Owing to their central position at the junction of Western and Eastern cultures and their unique historical experience, the two great powers can set an example of the new type of cooperation that all mankind needs.

Here is a chance to realize our peoples' fundamental vital interests. It should not be missed.

New Independent Islamic Newspaper Published

LD1601050992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Jan 92

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] The first edition of the MUSULMAN KAZAKHSTANA newspaper, an independent religious instructional newspaper of the imams, has been published. The advent of the new publication will mean that many believers can keep abreast of the events which take place in the religious life of the steppe region and will naturally facilitate a growth in the popularity of Islam in the region.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Meets With Shaposhnikov

OW1401193892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [14 January] President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev confirmed his republic's interest in preserving the unified armed forces of the Commonwealth

of Independent States. IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent reports, referring to sources close to the Kyrgyz president, that during his meeting with Marshal Shaposhnikov in Bishkek Akayev said that his republic does not intend to create its own army since it cannot maintain it.

Marshal Shaposhnikov welcomed Akayev's position on the Commonwealth armed forces which, in his opinion, is very close to that of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

It was noted at the meeting that the upcoming meeting of Commonwealth nations' leaders, as well as the All-Army Officers' Gathering set for January 17 will be essential. The sources close to Kyrgyzstan's president believe after these events preparation of a military-political agreement in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States will be speeded up.

U.S. To Help Privatize Agriculture

OW1501195392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The United States is ready to give Kyrgyzstan advice and technical aid in privatizing its agriculture. This was announced by the U.S. Secretary of State's personal envoy (Robert Fower) during his talks with the Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev.

The parties agreed that Kyrgyzstan and the U.S. should base their cooperation on appropriate trade and economic agreements and a treaty on mutual assistance and the protection of each other's capital investments.

Tajikistan

Nabiyev Meets With Commonwealth's Shaposhnikov

OW1501192992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Rahmon Nabiyev of Tajikistan reaffirmed the republic's stance on the need to keep the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth united, during a meeting with Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, who arrived in Dushanbe on Wednesday [15 January].

On the Tajik part, the meeting was attended by Prime-Minister Akbar Mirzoyev, defense committee chairman Farukh Niyazov, state advisor for self-defense, national security and law-enforcement bodies Bahram Rahmanov, who is also the National Guard commander, and other officials.

In his statement to the press Marshal Shaposhnikov expressed his satisfaction with the visit to Dushanbe and the stance of Tajikistan's leaders. In his opinion, "hasty attempts to decide the future of the Armed Forces, characteristic of some republics of the Comnonwealth, arouse justified concern among servicemen." He also supported military officers demanding a direct say in the process of deciding the fate of the Army.

Mr. Shaposhnikov came out in favour of a unified oath of allegiance for the united Armed Forces of the Commonwealth.

Shaposhnikov Expresses 'Satisfaction'

LD1501131892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TADJIKTA correspondent Salokhiddin Ergashev]

[Text] Dushanbe, 15 Jan (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces, who is in Dushanbe within the framework of a working visit to the capitals of the Commonwealth Central Asian states, met Tajik President Rakhmon Nabiyev today. The president acquainted the commander in chief with the positions of the leadership of the republic on defense issues.

On completion of the conversation, Yevegeniy Shaposhnikov expressed satisfaction with its results, stressing that the position of the leadership of Tajikistan remains unequivocal and "directed at preserving a single armed forces within the framework of the Commonwealth."

1-Man Command Supported

LD1501212792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1846 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The president of Tajikistan, talking with Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, supported the idea of retaining the Army under the one-man command of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces commander-in-chief. The Republic of Tajikistan is unable to meet the costs of the upkeep of its own army, said President Rakhmon Nabiyev. He found acceptable allocation by each state of the Commonwealth of a certain amount of money for the upkeep of a unified Army.

In the 15-minute talk with Marshal Shaposhnikov that was held in the Tajikistan president's study, the CIS military command was also represented by the commander of the Turkestan Military District, Colonel-General Kondratyev. The talk was also attended by the chairman of the Tajikistan Defence Committee, Major-General Farrukh Niyazov, the commander of the National Guard, the president's adviser for defence, national security and law-enforcement bodies, Major-General Bakhram Rakhmanov, the interior minister, Major-General Mamadayez Navzhuvanov, Vice-President Narzullo Dustov, Prime Minister Akbar Mirzoyev and the commander of the Dushanbe garrison, Colonel Nikolay Zabolotny.

Shaposhnikov assessed the visit to Tajikistan as fruitful. He noted that the oath of allegiance in the CIS Armed Forces should be unified and based on three principles: the oath of allegiance to one's people, observance of the constitution of the state on whose territory a soldier serves and unconditional subordination to commanders and chiefs. Only recruits and cadets of military academies should take a special oath, Shaposhnikov argued. He stressed that conscription to strategic forces (strategic missile force, air force, navy, air defence) stationed on the territory of another Commonwealth state will only be made on a voluntary basis. He denied allegations that there are space missiles with nuclear warheads on the territory of Tajikistan.

At 12.00 local time, Shaposhnikov flew to Ashkhabad.

Deputies Urge Restoral of Radio Rossii Service

LD1501120792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] A number of Tajik Supreme Soviet deputies have demanded that Rakhmon Nabiyev, president of the republic, explain why the relaying of the second program of Radio Rossii used by the Yunost radio station, has stopped. They say that there are no technical faults preventing the channel from operating normally.

First Gold Consignment Arrives at Bank

PM1601164292 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Tajikistan Has Its Own Gold"]

[Text] The first consignment of gold, weighing 81 kg, has arrived at Tajikistan's national bank. The noble metal was extracted by the "Tadzhikzoloto" Production Association, which has two major gold extraction enterprises in the north of the republic.

Formerly the precious raw material was brought up to condition at a Russian precision alloys plant, and then installed in the former USSR's State Depository of Valuables. Now, with the declaration of sovereignty, all the gold extracted in the republic will belong to it. In order to increase production, the construction of a major gold ore combine has been accelerated. With its launch, the extraction of the noble metal in Tajikistan will double.

Turkmenia

Niyazov, Shaposhnikov Discuss Military Policy

LD1501165192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1418 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Strategic Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] arrived in Turkmenistan today. At the microphone in the Ashkhabad studio with the details is our correspondent Mirgen Amanov. We are listening Mirgen.

[Amanov] Good day.

[Announcer] Good day.

[Amanov] Well, immediately on arriving from Tajikistan, and that was at around 1130 Moscow time, Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov traveled to the president's palace where he met with the president of Turkmenistan, Niyazov, after which Shaposhnikov and Niyazov held a short news conference for journalists. It must be said that both the commander in chief and the president reached the unanimous view that the Armed Forces must be preserved in the form in which they exist on the territory of Turkmenistan.

Defining his position, Shaposhnikov stated that no one will engage in dividing up the Armed Forces, but the main issue is who will maintain and finance the troops. And the troops on the territory of Turkmenistan are part of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth countries, and for this reason, this conception of both the commander in chief and, in his words, the president of Russia is that there will be a proportional involvement of the interested parties in the financing. And at present, say, not millions, but billions are required for the upkeep of the troops in Turkmenistan, and, in the words of Shaposhnikov, Russia is prepared to provide assistance and to participate on a proportionate basis.

In general, I think the basis for future dialogue between the leaders of the Commonwealth countries on military issues has been defined.

[Announcer] Mirgen, could you say what specific issues were discussed at the meeting?

[Amanov] Yes, Yuriy. There were such issues and they were resolved. Thus, first and foremost, the establishment of a Ministry of Defense with the aim of coordinating communications with troops on the territory of Turkmenistan and which will be directly subordinate to the president. The minister of defense will be appointed shortly and he will also be a member of the Military Council of the district and will represent the interests of Turkmenistan on defense issues in the Commonwealth countries.

Second, the Military Procuracy will now form a part of the Procuracy of Turkmenistan. Much time was taken up by a discussion on the training of military cadres in the Commonwealth countries, say, and abroad. And so, Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov also noted with satisfaction the fact that the last meeting between the military and the president of Turkmenistan dispelled very many suspicions with regard to the troops, and became a kind of guarantee for the social protection of officers and soldiers.

There was a unanimous view that defense policy must be constructed in such a way that people do not die, and I think that this is the most important thing.

[Announcer] I completely agree wih you and thank you for your report. Goodbye.

[Amanov] All the best.

Shaposhnikov on Defense Ministry

OW1501192292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Commander of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, has agreed with Turkmenia's plan to open a defense ministry of its own. IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent learned this from President Niyazov's press service after the end of Shaposhnikov's visit to Ashkhabad.

The republican ministry, which is expected to act as an intermediary between the Turkmenia government and the troops stationed there, would be set up in the near future, the presidential press service said. It did not rule out that Saparourad Niyazov might make appropriate appointments as early as Thursday [16 January].

Talks with Marshal Shaposhnikov yielded agreement on the need to divide the financial and technical maintenance of troops among all Commonwealth member states.

The training of personnel for Turkmenia will be undertaken by Russia and other Commonwealth countries. It is possible that some officers may be trained also outside the Commonwealth. According to President Niyazov, Turkey is ready to train military specialists for Turkmenia. Marshal Shaposhnikov prefers, however, that the training take place also in Western Europe.

Agree on 'Many' Positions

LD1501180592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1618 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TURKMENPRESS correspondent A. Kurbanova]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 15 Jan (TASS)—Ways of maintaining the unity of the armed forces within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), questions of the forces' relations with the sovereign republics, the prospects for military reform—these and other questions were discussed today at the talks which took place here between Saparmurad Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan, and Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the CIS, who was in Ashkhabad.

Speaking at a news conference after the conclusion of the talks, Shaposhnikov stressed that he adhered to the position of maintaining the unity of the Armed Forces within the framework of the Commonwealth, and considered that this is in the interests of the peoples of all the independent states. At the same time, a sufficiently in-depth reform of the Army will be carried out. This has been made necessary by the new situation in which the Armed Forces should be subordinated both to the common command and to the authorities of the independent states.

In his turn President Niyazov noted that his position on resolving many questions was at one with the position of Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. During the talks agreement was reached on creating a Ministry of Defense in Turkmenistan. The minister will represent the interests of Turkmenistan in the Military Council of the Commonwealth, and agree to and coordinate the actions of the Armed Forces stationed on the territory of Turkmenistan.

On the same day Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov left Ashkhabad.

Armenia

Speculation on Gamsakhurdia Location Continues

LD1601062192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Excerpts] On Wednesday [15 January] evening, Zviad Gamsakhurdia left Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport for an undisclosed destination on board a TU-134 aircraft of the Georgian aviation company. [passage omitted]

It is known that an adviser to the Georgian president visited Groznyy on 14 January and had a conversation with Dzhokhar Dudayev. Dudayev stated to a TASS correspondent: "I was working in the parliament all day and I do not know anything about Gamsakhurdia's arrival in Groznyy." He promised to find out the details and to provide TASS with an official report.

So where is Zviad Gamsakhurdia now? A TASS correspondent has learned from a conversation with competent people and drawn the conclusion that the Georgian president has not left the boundaries of the former USSR.

Reportedly Still in Sukhumi

LD1601092792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] As TASS reported late last night, Zviad Gamsakhurdia has not left the boundaries of the former Union. About 20 minutes ago, IPRINDA independent agency correspondent Zurab Dvali phoned us on a very bad line and reported that, according to unverified information, Gamsakhurdia is in Sukhumi.

Armenian Mediation in Georgia Conflict Viewed

LD1501232692 Moscow TASS in English 2229 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By unidentified ARMENPRESS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan January 15 TASS—Both conflicting sides in Tbilisi asked Armenia to be a mediator and the Republic sent its delegation to Georgia which met both with official authorities and the opposition on January 2 and 3, the Armenian presidential press service said on Wednesday [15 January]

A ceasefire agreement and an end to the bloodshed were discussed at the meetings, as well as the question of granting temporary shelter to President Zviad Gansakhurdia. On January 6 the opposition allowed Gamsakhurdia and his escort leave Georgia and head for Armenia via Azerbaijan, the press office said in a statement.

Opposition leader Tengiz Sigua sent a telegramme to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan next day saying the Georgian Government would not mind Gamsakhurdia and his family staying in Armenia. Sigua also promised to pardon all of the one hundred armed bodyguards of Gamsakhurdia, if they return to Georgia.

On January 9, Gamsakhurdia asked Ter-Petrosyan to grant him, his family and bodyguards a temporary political asylum. Ter-Petrosyan agreed to give them a temporary shelter, but said the armed bodyguards must hand in their weapons. It was also agreed that Gamsakhurdia does not wage any political campaign from the territory of Armenia, the statement disclosed.

The Armenian Government, respecting the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of sovereign Georgia, is interested in a fast political stabilisation and peace in the friendly country, the staement stressed.

Opposition Leader Evaluates Events in Georgia

OW1501181592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Paruir Airikyan, head of the Armenian opposition organisation called National Self-Determination and a member of the Armenian parliament, who returned from Tbilisi a few days ago, described the recent events in Georgia as a democratic protest against a tyrant rather than a bid for power.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] he repudiated the argument held by supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who had fled from Tbilisi, that he had been democratically elected President by an overwhelming majority of the Georgian population. Mr. Airikyan said some of the meetings he had had in Georgia "made it clear how these 'democratic elections' had been arranged."

He cited the words of the head of the present Georgian government, Tengiz Sigua, to the effect that Mr. Gamsakhurdia's Commonwealth membership appeal to Boris Yeltsin during the conflict in Tbilisi was based solely on the hope that he could use the Commonwealth armed forces against the opposition. Mr. Sigua himself, according to Mr. Airikyan, placed great hope in ex-Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's arrival in Georgia.

Russian Price Control To Have 'Painful Impact'

PM1501142392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent Armen Khanbabyan under the "Life the Way It Is" rubric: "Armenia Will Not Have Coupons"]

[Text] Yerevan—Addressing an extraordinary sitting of the parliamentary session, Armenian President L. Ter-Petrosyan pointed out: Henceforth the Russian Federation will dictate the prices of raw materials, and this will have a very painful impact on the economy of Armenia, which is devoid of its own natural resources. The daily losses could run to 30 million rubles.

Parliament has approved the measures drawn up by the government to protect the consumer market and to enhance the population's social protection. It is planned, in particular, to set up their own customs service. But they will not introduce coupons in Armenia, as in Ukraine, because work has already begun on creating a national currency.

Azerbaijan

'Armenian Guerrillas' Said Destroying Karabakh

PM1501152792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

[Correspondent Zair Kadymbekov report under the "News from Regions" rubric: "'Scorched Earth' Tactic"]

[Text] Baku—A news conference has been held in Baku for local and foreign correspondents. The "responding" side was represented by three ministers—National Security Minister I. Guseynov, Internal Affairs Minister T. Kerimov, and Defense Minister T. Mekhtiyev—and also by R. Guseynov, deputy chairman of the republic staff. The chief topic was the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the Russian television "News" and many Moscow newspapers regularly provide one-sided information from Nagorno-Karabakh and shape a distorted picture of the situation in that "hot spot." The situation is as follows: A regular and systematic destruction of Azerbaijani villages is taking place. Armenian guerrillas are employing "scorched earth" tactics. The villages of Meshali, Salakyatin, Kyarkidzhakhan, Tug, Khodzhavend, Imaret-garvend, and others have been practically wiped off the face of the earth. There is a real threat of the same fate to the remaining villages, which have been deprived of assistance and reinforcements: The roads are blocked, and air communications are hampered by fire from the ground.

Reportedly Prepared To Use Missiles

OW1501185792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press centers of the Interior Ministry and KGB of Azerbaijan have told IF [INTERFAX] that the two agencies are seriously concerned over the situation in the republic's Gheranboi district bordering on Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to their information, armed Armenian units have brought several dozen howitzers and surface-to-surface missile launchers there, obviously in preparation for an offensive. The KGB notes that missiles of this class, which it believes must have been stolen from the Soviet Army, have never been used by the Armenians before. The security agency maintains that the target of the planned shelling will be the Azerbaijani city of Naftalan.

Union Army Hardware, Arms Belong to Republic

PM1501224792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 3

[Unidentified correspondent report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Azerbaijan Defense Minister Considers That Soviet Army Military Equipment and Weapons on the Republic's Territory Belong to Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Baku—"We will not allow the withdrawal of the equipment or weapons of military units deployed in the republic," Azerbaijan Republic Defense Minister Tedzheddin Mekhtiyev has stated. Speaking at a briefing 13 January, he noted that the republic "does not have the possibility of arming its own national army."

Mekhtiyev said that "the four republics of the former Union which have access to the Caspian Sea are entitled to claim" the Caspian Naval Flotilla, and that Azerbaijan intends "to siphon off forces from the flotilla to create a regiment of marines to guard the Azerbaijan section of the coastline."

The minister believes that officers should decide for themselves what country of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to swear oaths of allegiance to. "As for privates and sergeants performing their service in Azerbaijan, they will be obliged to swear allegiance to the Azerbaijani people," he said.

Republic, Military Leaders View Army's Future

NC1401154492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] A meeting between Army commanders and Republic leaders has been held at one of the military units in Baku.

What is the future of the Azerbaijan Republican Army? What point have efforts by the independent republics reached to establish their own armed forces? How should social and the other problems with the Armed Forces be resolved? All these are difficult problems which leading officials and military personnel must resolve.

M. Abbasov, state secretary of the Azerbaijan Republic; Major General Popov, commander of the 4th Army; Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet; General (Sumashenko), member of the Azerbaijan National Council; General (Bakarchov); and other generals and admirals addressed the meeting. They all expressed the view that it is essential to make the most of all opportunities during the current transitional period.

Abbas Abbasov, state adviser of the Azerbaijan Republic, and Tofik Kasumov and Rakhim Kadiyev, members of the Azerbaijan National Council, participated in the meeting.

Republic To Be Admitted to IMF

OW1501195292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mutalibov's press service, citing a message from the leadership of the International Monetary Fund, told IF [INTERFAX] that Azerbaijan would be granted IMF membership next September.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Declares Start of 'Civil War'

LD1601095692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Victor Vorotnyuk]

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 Jan (TASS)—The location of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has been established. The TASS correspondent has just been informed by Military Council member Tengiz Kitovani that early this morning the plane carrying the Georgian leader landed in Sukhumi. From there, he travelled by car to the Georgian city of Zugdidi, where he is staying at the moment.

At 1000 today, a meeting was held in Zugdidi with Gamsakhurdia's supporters who are accompanying him. The president of the Georgian Republic addressed the meeting. He called on those gathered to march on Tbilisi and declared the beginning of a civil war. This has been reported by the Georgian FACT information agency.

In the opinion of observers, the SAKINFORM agency reports, the situation in the region—as in the whole of Georgia—can deteriorate rapidly.

The TASS correspondent has learned from well-informed sources that negotiations were held today between representatives of the Georgian president and a Chechen delegation on the creation of a Megrel-Abkhasian republic.

Abkhasian Leader Denies Meeting

LD1601122192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Tbilisi, 16 Jan (TASS)—Ousted by the opposition, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia called on his supporters today to launch an offensive on Tbilisi and declared the start of a civil war. [passage omitted]

Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhasian Supreme Soviet, confirmed today in a telephone conversation with a TASS correspondent that Zviad Gamsakhurdia has indeed arrived in Sukhumi. However, he had no previous knowledge of this and Sukhumi airport is controlled by supporters of the former Georgian president.

Referring to reports about the meeting between Gamsakhurdia's representatiaves and a Chechen delegation, the Supreme Soviet chairman also stated that neither he nor his officials took part in such a meeting.

Supporters Held Rallies in Zugdidi

AU1601121092 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1115 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] According to information received by the Georgian Military Council [words indistinct], Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the former president, who fled the republic and who was in Armenia until yesterday, arrived in Zugdidi early on 16 January. Rallies have already been held in this town where the ex-president has most supporters. Supporters of Gamsakhurdia from the capital (?have taken part) in the rallies.

Returns to Tbilisi With Armed Support

LD1601123992 Hamburg DPA in German 1200 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Yerevan/Moscow (DPA)—The toppled Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia is said to have started off for the Georgian capital Tbilisi from western Georgia today with about 5,000 armed followers. DPA also learned from Armenian Government circles in Yerevan that Gamsakhurdia and his people intend to drive out the current transitional government which deprived him of power on 6 January.

Gamsakhurdia arrived in the western Georgian town of Sugdidi after leaving his temporary exile in Armenia last night. According to the Moscow news agency INTERFAX, the toppled president called on his supporters in Sugdidi "to destroy the junta in Tbilisi." According to this information, he traveled to Sugdidi from Armenia through the port of Sukhumi in western Georgia.

INTERFAX reported from Tbilisi that the situation is tense. Gamsakhurdia's supporters are said to have called a demonstration there for 1600 (1400 Central European Time) [1300 GMT].

Sigua Government Adopts Resolutions

AU1601110192 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] On 14 January, the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers held a meeting presided over by Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of the Republic of Georgia. A number of problems dealing with the question of power engineering and with the question of provision of the population

with foodstuffs were discussed at the meeting. The Cabinet adopted a number of resolutions with which we will now familiarize you.

Resolution by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia on the Mass Media, State Power, and Organs of Government.

For the purpose of preventing monopolization of the mass media by the government and in order to guarantee freedom of the press, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia resolves as follows:

1. The newspapers that belong to the state power and organs of government must be declared as independent press organs.

2. In accordance with the Republic of Georgia Law on the Press and Other Mass Media adopted on 10 August 1991, to provide, in the first paragraph of the given resolution, for the institution of the aforementioned newspapers and their registration in corresponding organs.

On the action of the Law of the Republic of Georgia on Political Associations of Citizens. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia points out that the republic Law on the Political Associations of Citizens, adopted on 10 August 1991, which regulated questions on the creation and functioning of political parties and offered organizational and legal guarantees to political parties, was suspended without justification by a resolution of the republic's Supreme Council on 1 November 1991. In order to create appropriate conditions enabling political associations of citizens to fulfill the functions stipulated by their programs and statutes and to participate in the elections of the representative organs of state power, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia resolves as follows:

1. To abolish the resolution adopted on 1 November 1991 by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia on the temporary suspension of the Republic of Georgia Law on Political Associations of Citizens.

2. The Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Georgia must start registering political parties in accordance with the Republic of Georgia Law on Political Associations of Citizens.

[Signed] Sigua, acting prime minister of the Republic of Georgia.

(?Pelidze), acting administrator of the State Office of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

In accordance with the order issued by the Military Council of the Republic of Georgia for achieving stabilization in the republic, a Permanent Legal and Economic Commission of the Military Council of the Republic of Georgia, consisting of 10 persons, has been created. Aleksandr Nikolayevich (?Bochurishvili) has been nominated chairman of the Permanent Legal and Economic Commission of the Republic of Georgia.

The chairman of the Permanent Legal and Economic Commission of the Military Council of the Republic of Georgia is authorized to submit, within three days, a list of qualified persons to work on the commission. He also is authorized to elaborate and submit for approval, within 10 days, draft regulations of the Permanent Legal and Economic Commission. All documents of legal and economic content, including draft orders prepared for publication by the Commandant's Office of Tbilisi, must be approved by the Permanent Legal and Economic Commission.

Sigua Analyzes Situation

LD1501141692 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By SAKINFORM correspondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi January 15 (TASS)—"The situation in Georgia is gradually coming back to normal", Tengiz Sigua, head of the provisional Georgian government, told a briefing here. Analysing the political situation after the tragic events in Tbilisi, he said that tension still persists in Zugdidi and the Zugdidi district, in Poti and partially in Sukhumi, as well as in Kutaisi and Samtredia, where supporters of former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia hold rallies. Sigua said the work of the Tbilisi airport and of freight and passenger urban transport is being resumed. The situation on railways remains difficult. At some stretches of the railways, trains are blocked.

Sigua said two armed clashes had been held in the recent days. Near Sukhumi, a group of unidentified people attacked paratroopers stationed there, killing one serviceman and wounding three. There was another clash in the area of Tshkinvali where unidentified persons opened fire on Ossetian villages. Two people were killed, ten wounded, as many as 24 houses were destroyed and burned.

Sigua said the Georgian Military Council and provisional government regard these incidents as provocations aimed at resuming and escalating armed confrontation in the regions. He said a delegation was sent to Tskhinvali to investigate the circumstances of the clash and establish peaceful relations with public representatives and the local authorities.

It is reported that the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers annulled a resolution of the Georgian Supreme Council of November 1, 1991 which suspended the law "On Political Associations of Citizens". This enables all political parties to discharge the functions envisaged by their programmes and rules and to participate in the election of representative bodies of state authorities. The Ministry of Justice was instructed to begin the registration of parties and other political associations of citizens.

The Cabinet of Ministers also proclaimed independence of all the mass media bodies connected with state authorities and managerial bodies. This has been done to

prevent the monopolisation of the media by the state and to ensure freedom of the press.

More on Sigua Reaction

LD1501235192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2113 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Acting Prime Minister of Georgia: The situation in the republic is being normalized, tension is retained in Zugdidi and Zugdidi District, Poti, Kutaisi, Samtredia and, in part, in Sukhumi on January 14, during the briefing at the headquarters of the provisional government, Acting Prime-Minister of Georgia , Tenghiz Sigua said that during the last days two armed collisions took place: One was in the suburbs of Sukhumi, where a group of unknown persons attacked the Soviet Army servicemen who are stationed there, resulting in one military person being killed and three being wounded. In the suburbs of Tskhinvali, unknown persons started to fire at the Ossetian villages. As a result, two people were killed, some ten people were wounded and 24 dwelling houses were destroyed and burnt. As Mr Sigua underlined, the military council and provisional government of Georgia consider this fact as an open provocation, aimed at resumption and escalation of the armed conflict in this area. After condemning the acts of the provocateurs, he said that all measures are being taken to clear them up and added that on January 14, in Tskhinvali a plenipotentiary delegation was sent to clear up the circumstances of the happenings and to establish peaceful relations with representatives of the local authorities and public opinion.

The information on the situation of the republic's economy underlined that at present, the population's needs in foodstuffs and first-necessity consumer goods are not satisfied even at the minimum. The difficulties with fuel and energy resources remain also serious. According to Sigua, in the near future the situation will improve, as Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev cancelled embargo on delivery of gas and oil products to Georgia. Acting Minister of Health and Social Security of Georgia Irakly Megreladze cited at the briefing the more accurate data on the number of the dead and the wounded in the course of the tragical events in Tbilisi from December 22, 1991 till January 6, 1992. He said that there were 107 killed and 527 wounded people. At present, in hospital there are 75 people, including 8 of them in a severe state. All those who suffered from these events, Mr. Megreladze underlined, are given qualified medical aid.

Supreme Council Meets in 'Nervous Atmosphere'

PM1501111792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Zviad Is No Longer the Whole of Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—On 14 January Georgian Supreme Council deputies had a meeting with Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the Supreme Council.

It was held in a rather nervous atmosphere. The deputies who had previously been in opposition proposed holding the parliamentary majority morally responsible for what happened. However, many disagreed with this. Toward the end Akakiy Asatiani even left the room. Clearly, there was not a constructive discussion. Gamsakhurdia's supporters were holding a rally in the street at the same time. Approximately 2,000 people had gathered. True, the slogans which the former president's admirers had brought had undergone certain changes. Whereas previously Gamsakhurdia's supporters marched with a banner proclaiming "Zviad Is Georgia," the words on the banner now read: "Zviad Plus the People Equals Georgia."

A session of the National Congress, the elected coordinating organ of the political parties which had been in opposition to Gamsakhurdia, was held in parallel with the deputies' session. Dzhaba Ioseliani, a member of the Congress Presidium and one of the leaders of the Military Council, criticized the Congress and proposed that the congressmen share responsibility for what happened with the Supreme Council.

"Whereas the majority of the Supreme Council indulged Gamsakhurdia in his criminal policy, the Congress helped to deepen the political crisis by its passiveness," Ioseliani said.

In the opinion of many observers, if it is not possible to gather a quorum of deputies to hold a session, then the following pattern of development of the political situation is possible. A section of the Supreme Council deputies and members of the National Congress will convene something like a constituent assembly. This organ will fix the date of parliamentary elections and transfer power from the Military Council to a civilian government.

Meanwhile, it has been learned that Medeya Tushmalishvili, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for External Relations, has set out for Paris to petition there for France to grant political asylum to Z. Gamsakhurdia.

The fact that former Georgian Health Minister Manana Dzodzuashvili, who fled together with Gamsakhurdia, spirited away 40 kg of gold intended for [dental] prostheses has not been confirmed. This is said in an official Health Ministry statement. However, some details of financial abuses and machinations perpetrated by the Georgian Supreme Council and Cabinet of Ministers have become known. According to Vazha Dzhindzhikhadze, manager of the National Bank, multimillion-ruble credits were issued to various dummy enterprises at the insistence of the Ministry of Economics and Finances. Then these sums were transferred to accounts of the Supreme Council and the Cabinet of

Ministers. It still has to be ascertained exactly how and on what this money was spent, the manager of the National Bank said.

At the same time the Provisional Cabinet of Ministers has resolved to increase pensions, grants, and compensation, as well as the wages of workers in budget-financed organizations, by 100 percent as of 15 January. This has also been made possible because approximately 860 million rubles in ready cash has been brought into the republic in recent days.

Ministry Comments on Domestic, Foreign Policy

LD1501233692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2113 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Foreign Ministry of Georgia: Principles, to which former authorities adhered to in foreign and domestic policy, or to be more precise, their unscrupulousness in these spheres, have caused considerable damage to Georgian foreign policy.

The text of declaration by the Foreign Ministry of Georgia, published by republican mass media on January 15, also says the following: As of today, Georgian Foreign Ministry has not received any official document, whatsoever, concerning the recognition of Georgia as an independent state. Romania, Moldova and the Ukraine have informed of their intention to establish diplomatic relations. As regards a de facto recognition, many countries of the world have recognized us as an independent geographic unit, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, however, all of them have failed to take a decision on legal recognition of the Republic of Georgia and to express their intention of establishing diplomatic relations.

S. Ossetia To Hold Independence Referendum

OW1401182092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF [INTERFAX] information, Jaba Ioseliani, one of the leaders of the Georgian Military Council, was going to go to Southern Ossetia today for negotiations with Ossetian leaders.

Meanwhile, the parliament of the South Ossetian Republic decided to hold a referendum on January 19, with two questions to be answered. "Do you believe the Republic of South Ossetia should be independent?" and "Do you agree with the decision of the Supreme Council of the independent republic of Southern Ossetia of September 1, 1991, to unify the republic with Russia?"

Energy Situation 'Worsening'

LD1501232192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Video report by correspondent I. Tabolova; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 19 January a referendum will be held in South Ossetia on independence and unification with Russia. Now, after the change in the Georgian leadership, there are more hopes that the Ossetian question will be resolved in a civilized way—in any event, without bloodshed.

[Tabolova] In recent days Tskhinvali has not been fired upon. This is just one of the hopeful factors characterizing the situation today in South Ossetia. But however much one does not wish to destroy the optimistic picture of the long-awaited normalization of the situation, other facts bear evidence that the situation in this region remains extremely difficult. Enterprises are still not receiving raw materials, and people are not working. In recent days there have been no electricity supplies at all. Gas is also not arriving. The city's inhabitants warm themselves with the aid of small stoves, if they have had the fortune to get ahold of one. The people who do not have such a stove sleep in their clothes, and are eating dry food. Children and women, refugees from rural regions, are suffering in particular, as are old people in the old people's home.

Yesterday the leadership of South Ossetia sent a telegram to Mr. Sigua, the Georgian prime minister, which contains information about the worsening of the energy blockade, and also about the armed attacks on the settlement of Znauri and the Ossetian villages of Dmanisi and Khelcha which took place last week. As the telegram notes, tens of houses were blown up and burned down. Nevertheless, it is thought here that Georgia's present leadership possibly does not know about these new criminal acts, which deprive the South Ossetian population of hope for the return of peace and calm to this much suffering land. [video shows street scenes, electricity lines, people wrapped up against the cold indoors, small stoves, ruined buildings, people crying at cemetery]

Georgian Heiress on Possible Return to Throne

AU1601113892 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Jan 92 pp 1,2

[Telephone interview with Maria-Paz Bagration Baviera, Georgian heiress to the throne, by Eva Elekes in Madrid; date not given: "If the People Wish, I Will Return as the Queen"]

[Excerpts] Two brothers and a sister, the last descendants of the Bagratidas, the former Georgian ruling family, are living in Spain. If the Georgians decided to restore the monarchy, all three would have a claim to the throne. Out of the three heirs to the Georgian throne, we

managed to reach the dentist Maria-Paz Bagration Baviera on the telephone at her clinic in Madrid, and she was willing to give an interview.

[Baviera] My father, the last ruler of the Georgian king's palace, had three children. Jorge, my brother, was born of his first marriage to Countess Maria Sonieta Pasquini. Although Jorge is the oldest and he now says he would raise a claim to the throne, he actually completely excluded himself from the heirs to the throne. At the time of his first marriage, he officially surrendered this right. It is true that he has remarried since then.

[Elekes] According to tradition, who could claim the Georgian throne?

[Baviera] No one is actually claiming it. The Georgian people will have to decide whether they want to restore the monarchy at all, and who would deserve this honor. According to tradition, this could be any one of the king's children. [passage omitted]

[Elekes] Does this mean that even you could be the queen of the Georgians if the people so wished?

[Baviera] In theory, yes. I am the second child of Bagration, born from his second marriage with Infanta Maria de la Mercedes de Baviera de Bourbon. I and my brother, Bagran-Juan (also from the second marriage) can equally claim the Georgian throne. [passage omitted]

[Elekes] Do you maintain contact with Georgia? Do you have any new information?

[Baviera] I do not know what my brothers are doing. I have constant telephone contact with Tbilisi and Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Elekes] Are you in touch with the forces that ousted Gamsakhurdia?

[Baviera] Look, I do not want to take a stand on political issues. I would like the bloodshed to be stopped in my country. [passage omitted]

[Elekes] As far as I know, you are the only one of the children who has been to Georgia and speaks the language.

[Baviera] I went there with my husband and children in August 1991; my visit coincided with the coup attempt. I intend to return there as soon as possible, I will probably travel to Tbilisi at the end of this month or the beginning of the next. [passage omitted]

[Elekes] Are you planning to settle in Tbilisi?

[Baviera] I would indeed like to live in this beautiful city. During my visit last summer, the idea occurred to me to open a clinic there, similar to the one I have in Spain, and to practice my profession.

[Elekes] Does this mean that you would not return with political intentions?

[Baviera] I am a doctor, this is my profession. Nevertheless, naturally, if the people decided that they needed me, I would be willing to do anything.

[Elekes] Does your family help the Georgians in any way?

[Baviera] It is precisely this that would be the aim of my forthcoming visit, namely to assess the situation and the greatest needs. We have already been helping according to our means, for example, we sent medicine and food through the International Red Cross after the earthquake. Obviously, these channels have been frozen, and the official representation and everything else is uncertain because of the fighting. I actually have excellent foreign contacts and I would like to use them in the interest of my people. Once things are settled, I would like to work for the recognition of the republic's independence. As you are aware, Georgia was the first one to ask for international recognition of its independence but this has not yet happened.

[Elekes] In your opinion, will Georgia join the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]?

[Baviera] In my opinion, Georgia does not need to join the CIS. In our history, the Russians always deceived us, both in the time of Catherine II and in 1921. Therefore, in my view, the best thing would be to have good-neighborly relations with Russia and foster good economic and cultural relations. I am afraid that the same thing will be continued within the CIS as before, just under a different name. Georgia is one of the richest republics and it would at last like to enjoy its richness. [passage omitted]

Estonia

Treaty With Russia, Kozyrev Trip Reviewed

OW1501165392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1540 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At their meeting in Tallinn on January 14 the Prime Minister of Estonia Edgar Savisaar and Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said that the trading and economic treaty between Estonia and Russia for 1992 will have to be observed.

BF [BALTFAX] has already said that Estonia is experiencing a serious fuel and food crisis. Estonia has accused Russia of failing to supply fuel under the aforesaid agreement.

Kozyrev told the Estonian Prime Minister that Russia had drafted and brought to Tallinn four treaties called to complement and specify the inter-state treaty concluded in January 1991.

Savisaar said that Estonia had drafted a number of similar agreements, too.

About the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltic states Kozyrev said that Russia would be ready to enter into negotiations soon.

Later in the day Kozyrev met with the Russian-speaking members of the Estonian parliament in Tallinn. He said that the documents handed over to Estonia ruled out the emergence of a situation in which "Russia would have to accommodate a great number of refugees from Estonia." The Russian Foreign Minister said that all residents of the republic eager to acquire Russian citizenship would enjoy the protection of their rights on the part of Russia.

Asked about who was in control of the armed forces of the dissolved USSR or whether Russia was going to define their status juridically, Kozyrev said that Russia would be the last to declare its right to have armed forces, after Ukraine and all other countries of the former Union.

Economy Minister Leimann Resigns

OW1501210392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2050 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking in parliament January 15, Estonian Economy Minister Jaak Leimann announced his resignation.

Leimann said that he had sent in his resignation a long time ago, but circumstances prevented him from taking this step. He explained his decision by the fac: that he "feels himself a scientist rather than a politician or leader."

On January 15 the Estonian Supreme Council discussed a draft law giving emergency powers to the republican government led by Premier Edgar Savisaar. The government demands emergency powers in order to overcome the economic crisis which paralyzed the republic in recent weeks.

After long discussion, it was decided to postpone taking a decision on the issue until Thursday [16 January]. BF's [BALTFAX's] parliamentary correspondent believes Savisaar will withdraw the draft resolution on emergency powers.

'Critical' Energy Situation Looms in Republic

LD1401194792 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn January 14 TASS—All boiler rooms in Tallinn are expected to stop in early February because of dramatic shortages in furnace oil supplies. This will paralyze the city where one-third of all Estonians live, Deputy Minister of Industry and Energy Riho Sild said in an interview with the newspaper PAEVALEHT today.

A way out of the critical situation can be found if Russian President Boris Yeltsin chooses to use his clout and make Russian producers honour the agreements on fuel supplies to Estonia.

Head of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel has already appealed to the Russian president, PAEVALEHT reports.

Lithuania

Lithuanians To Train at German Command Academy

PM1401142992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Heard on the Grapevine"]

[Text] During talks between German Defense Minister G. Stoltenberg and his Lithuanian colleague A. Butkevicius, agreement was reached on the German side's cooperation in training the Territorial Protection Department's personnel.

In particular, it is envisaged that Lithuanians will be trained at the Bundeswehr Command Academy in Hamburg and the "domestic leadership" center in Koblenz, where they will study the foundations of NATO defense policy and methods of working with the men.

The question of the sale to Lithuania of weapons from stocks received by the Bundeswehr following the disbandment of the GDR National People's Army was not discussed during the talks.

Defense Minister Ends Germany, Belgium Visit

OW1401233692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Home Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius has called his visit to Germany and Belgium completed January 13 "successful." Butkevicius said he had discussed with German Defense Minister G. Stoltenberg the possibility of providing equipment for the Lithuanian defense system.

In Belgium Butkevicius met with NATO leaders to discuss possible participation of Lithuania in joint meetings of representatives of NATO and six former Warsaw Treaty member states.

Israeli Ambassador Visits, Ties Established

LD1001152792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Today Supreme Council chairman Vytautas Landsbergis received Arye Levin, Israeli ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Moscow, and his entourage. The political situation in Lithuania and future ties between Lithuania and Israel were discussed.

This afternoon a ceremenoy took place at the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry. Israeli Ambassador Arye Levin presented Israeli state awards to Bronislava Straupiene. During World War II she, together with her husband, saved many Jews.

This afternoon a ceremony took place at the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry. During ther ceremony diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Israel were established. Our correspondent Zenonas Miksys was present:

[Miksys] Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas Arye Levin, Israeli ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Moscow, exchanged notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Israel. [passage omitted]

An impromptu news conference was organized. Replying to our question, Mr. Arye Levin, pointed out:

[Levin, in English] It can be full embassy, it can be a consulate general, it can be a consulate, it can be diplomatic representation. It can be all these things. We have not made a decision yet. [passage omitted]

Further Katkus Comment on Polish Relations

LD1501111592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1410 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Interview with Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Valdemaras Katkus by unidentified correspondent in Vilnius on 13 January on the "Government Studio" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Katkus] A consular convention was signed between Lithuania and Poland regulating citizens' movements to and from Lithuania and Poland. Plans exist—they were discussed from the very first days—for an additional post that must be opened in Kalvarija and for a rail line that must be opened, released, at long last, from Sestokai to Poland and beyond. These were included by our side because questions are raised frequently about travel without visas. Therefore, we [word indistinct] seek that as well. We also said that the opening of travel without visas, first of all, is a problem of a (?technical) nature. [passage indistinct] In connection with this, we have asked that the Polish side no longer delay this and and that Mr. Skubiszewski tell the Polish government in [word indistinct] order about the fact that these questions need to be resolved as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] So, as I understand it, the political decision has been made and only the technical problem remains?

[Katkus] Yes, yes, because a protocol on this was signed earlier, about a month or a month and a half ago, between the ministries of foreign affairs containing the clear statement that a new post would be opened in Kalvarija and would be expanded very intensely and that a railway branch would be opened in Sestokai. It is expected, most probably [word indistinct] transportation... [changes thought] the Polish transportation minister's trip to Lithuania, during which there will be a discussion about the arrangement of border matters. Not only that, but airlines and the joint use of ships and ports and other issues will be discussed.

We were thinking all along that this declaration-...[changes thought] more accurately, the statement by the deputies notes that this declaration legalizes the results of aggression. If we currently view Poland as an aggressor, according to that, then it seems to me that according to this statement we should shut down all posts, concentrate our army there and break any kind of existing economic agreements, since our situation is in an aggressive stage.

On the contrary, we have left that behind, insofar as today we have a truly difficult inter-war heritage, which has more than one meaning. Many people, even those who came to express their opinions outside the foreign ministry, are not always acquainted with the development of Lithuanian-Polish history, which is very complicated. The same applies to the one in the inter-war period. [sentence as heard] So, when they say that, we must evaluate Zheligovski's acts of aggression when the Vilnius question is raised, as such, in a general sense.

Meanwhile, this declaration says that both sides have no territorial pretensions. In that sense, Poland has no pretensions to the Vilnius region. For that, much criticism is being directed in Poland against Foreign Minister Skubiszewski.

When people attempt to raise the question of Zheligovski's aggression publicly, we will reopen the Vilnius question anew. Historically, it should be remembered, there was an earlier Suvalkai agreement that was subsequently broken. Zheligovski occupied Vilnius. Thus, I note, Zheligovski's aggression is tied specifically, to the Vilnius region. If people wish to reopen it again, a question of international nature, like the Vilnius question, I do not know if that will be useful to us and to Lithuania.

[Correspondent] Skubiszewski and the Polish delegation met yesterday with representatives of the Polish association of Poles residing in Lithuania. I think they must have recounted their problems for him. Were the problems of Lithuania's Poles' touched upon in the conversation with Skubiszewski? Perhaps certain specific new demands were expressed?

[Katkus] This question was discussed to a degree today by the foreign ministers, Saudargas and Skubiszweski, as well as by the two delegations from the Lithuanian and the Polish sides. This question was also discussed between Supreme Council Chairman Landsbergis and Skubiszewski.

Landsbergis stated very accurately that he suggests that the Polish Government, to view the situation of the Lithuania-Poland ethnic minority, compare the situation two years ago with what it was five years ago, and see if in truth it had improved or worsened. He also talked about the fact that there are some very complicated questions about the participation of certain people of Polish extraction in the putsch period and their connections with the Communist underground.

Landsbergis also presented, very graphically, the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachments] maps which had been acquired. In a word, these are secret maps in which the lines are clearly drawn as to how Vilnius and Vilnius region should be torn away. That is understandably a very complicated question.

Skubiszewski, of course, replied that they have no connections with such plans and that they completely understand that is a complicated question and that it is entirely an internal Lithuanian issue. as he has stressed several times. He stated that he himself has put a stop to a recent proposal, being prepared in Poland, to demand from Lithuania, territorial, in other words, Polish ethnic minority's autonomy. Skubiszewski himself stopped the resolution of this proposal in the parliament because it would provoke greater conflict.

This problem was mentioned today by [word indistinct] Petrovas, and the problem is being steadfastly deliberated.

On our behalf, we always say one thing: In 1990, when economic reform began after 11 March, it was obvious that two very definite things would be carried out.

The first, privatization [word indistinct] will be carried out. The second, a new administrative division of Lithuania, will be carried out to correspond to the new current economic and [word indistinct] demands in order to get rid of that heritage of the Soviet period's Communist [word indistinct]. This was stated in 1990 and has no connection with the current dismissal of municipal governments. That is, these relations, just as we are saying, should be regarded in a dynamic sense and, so to speak [words indistinct] any type of step, indeed, by the Lithuanian government specifically violating any Polish ethnic minority's—Lithuanian citizens of Polish extraction—individual [changes thought] let us say, some concrete facts [word indistinct] regarding the taking of land from Poles and giving it to Lithuanian [word indistinct] we said that if we receive this in writing, with each instance detailed, we would not hesitate, under such circumstances, to immediately punish those individuals who committed similar acts, because this is not in keeping either with parliament's policy on ethnic minorities or with government policy on ethnic minorities. To date we have not received a single written inquiry from the Polish Foreign Ministry that indicates violations of the rights of Lithuanian citizens that are representative of the Polish ethnic minority.

Landsbergis asked Skubiszewski to exert all possible influence upon the Polish press and Polish television to try to use real facts to illuminate our difficult relations.

I would like to call attention to another matter, which is not often noticed by anyone, namely, that during last year in Poland practically three election campaigns took place. [passage omitted] It is normal that emotions come to a boiling point during elections and that people do not always watch what they say and that this evokes further emotions in every society. It seems to me that this type of sharpening in relations, just at that time, was added to by the fact that [words indistinct]

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] Does this visit in Lithuania by Skubiszewski help to reduce the confrontation that developed between our two states during the past months?

[Katkus] Yes, without a doubt. This is a positive step that provides a very good and different perspective on our relations.

Council Awards Yeltsin Commemorative Medal

LD1301035892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 12 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsilis]

[Excerpt] Vilnius, 12 Jan (TASS)—The Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium awarded Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin a "13 January" commemorative medal, LIETUVOS AIDAS reports today.

The commemorative medal was introduced on the eve of the first anniversary of the tragedy of 12-13 January 1991. It has been awarded to several hundred of the Republic's people who showed courage and selflessness

in defending Lithuanian radio and television, the television tower, the parliament, and other important installations, as well as the freedom and independence of the Lithuanian state, which they valued more highly than their own lives. [passage omitted]

Kaliningrad Region Border Issues Negotiated

OW1501234692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2050 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Lithuanian delegation led by First Deputy Foreign Minister Valdemaras Katkus returned home after visiting the Kaliningrad region of Russia January 15 where it discussed the delimitation of the Russian-Lithuanian border with local authorities.

Katkus said the two sides had agreed to set up three groups of experts, one of which will be preparing a border agreement.

The second group will deal with "technical aspects of delimitation and demarcation right on the place." The third group will handle the work of the border service: customs, transport, communication and border regulations.

The two sides also discussed setting up customs and border posts. They agreed to offer the governments of both countries to open such posts in Kybartai, Kudirkos Naumiestis and Nida on Lithuanian side and several posts in the Kaliningrad region. Two of them—Kybartai and Sovetsk—will be international since they are situated near an international railroad.

Katkus noted that experts of the two states will continue the work in Vilnius February 5-6.

City Wants To Charge Soviet Troops Dollars

PM1601121392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Captain Lieutenant V. Bugayev: "$500,000 For Each Serviceman?"]

[Text] Liepaja—Following the Baltic Council session at which the leaders of the three Baltic republics decided on the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, the situation at the Liepaja garrison has become noticeably more complex.

Garrison commander Captain First Class V. Stalevmet met with city leader I. Vinsmis [name as transliterated]. During the meeting a range of issues associated with the aforesaid decision was examined. The leader of the city self-administration organ is convinced that the troop withdrawal should proceed in a civilized manner. However, there have already been calls for the presence of each serviceman to be chargeable—and for the charge to be paid in freely convertible currency. An amount has also been mentioned—up to $500,000 a year.

During the discussion questions of the acquisition of military property and the nationalization of facilities belonging to the former Union Defense Ministry were raised too. For the time being the Liepaja branch of the former USSR Industrial Construction Bank has frozen military units' accounts—which contain around 3.5 million rubles.

Democratic Labor Party Official Urges Agreement

LD1001122692

[Editorial Report] Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian, the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party newspaper, on 24 December, 1991 carries an article under the title "There Is No Alternative," by Gediminas Kirkilas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party. "The Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDP) can console itself that it was right," it says. "It proposed a better way. This is evident today when the negative consequences of social revanchism, pseudo-radicalism, and dilettantism are threateningly accumulating. The alleged resistance of the 'old structures' is only a myth to cover up the incompetence of the authorities.

"Some time ago I gave the information containing facts which prove that only several officials, members of the Lithuanian LDP, were in the government structures, and since the latest purge none of them remain there. Therefore, at present the right-wing government has taken full responsibility for the consequences of the reform and control of the economy."

The article continues: "Only the fiasco of the putsch and not the 'far-sighted policies' has liberated us and the Estonians, Moldovans, and Ukrainians.... Good fortune helped the enslaved nations restore their historical truth; this is not somebody's personal achievement." The article adds: "he right-wingers are in hurry to do away with the opposition, they are hysterically grabbing at the levers of authority: evicting people from buildings, illegally freezing accounts, confiscating newspapers and resorting to slander."

"There are accusations that the Lithuanian LDP is not a clearly voiced opposition. Perhaps this is so, however, we were the first to take on this 'cross,' we were those who dared. Perhaps we were not always right yet we never turned the opposition policies into an aim in itself." The article continues: "The Lithuanian LDP was right concerning its February thesis, the landmarks for the restoration of statehood, the constitution of a parliamentary republic, the point of view on the reform of the economy, the nationality problem, and the relations with the East. Even those, the labelling of whom as 'those with the communist past' would be blasphemous, begin to understand this."

"I do not intend to give a one-sided assessment of our radicals," Kirkilas continues. "However, they allowed the toadies, the incompetence and the aggressive mediocrity to stick to them. Some of those do not adhere to

the very principles of democracy for which they campaigned when they were dissidents. The KGB or the mafia who is interested in the disorder could easily manipulate them."

He adds: "All this distorted the concept of a sound radicalism. It became degenerate and the third congress of the Sajudis is the most eloquent illustration of this." "However," he continues, "to seek consolation and to understand the reasons of failure is not enough today. We have to come to an agreement. There is no alternative. No political pole will achieve victory and Lithuania will be the loser." "All the political forces must have the possibility to freely make their proposals on how to get out of this situation. Let us forget the mortifications and let us sober up after the 'victories' and let us concentrate our efforts. It is necessary first of all to declare a moratorium on political extremism. This must be done by the heads of the state, the more so that the extremism and intolerance became wide spread as a result of their direct or indirect toleration of it. "Second, the date of parliamentary elections must be fixed before the expiration of the term of the Supreme Council. Third, a government of the greater coalition which would be capable of sustaining at least the minimal existence of the economy until the new elections must be formed.... For this purpose the most prominent economists, lawyers and specialists regardless of their political views must be recruited.

"Fourth, the program foreseen in the consitutionalization process must be implemented by the parliament, the constitution and the laws on the constitutional courts of law and the system on proportional representation elections must be adopted.

"Fifth, parties which are preparing for the elections in a constructive way must be given support by the government. Equal opportunities must be provided to use the radio and television for the promotion of their ideas. "Sixth, the foreign policy must be corrected urgently by the great coalition government, attempts must be made to avoid isolation which is threatening us from the East after the formation of the Commonwealth of the Independent States."

Heat, Natural Gas Prices 'Quadrupled'

PM1501153592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 1

[From PRAVDA-TASS roundup under the general heading: "Newsbeat"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has again increased prices for power, heat, and gas. All consumers will now pay 35 kopeks per kilowatt-hour of power. Prices of heat and natural gas have quadrupled, the price of furnace fuel has tripled, and the price of hard coal has doubled.

Government Reviews Power Supply Reductions

LD1301161292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, the government discussed the deteriorating situation in the country's power engineering system. Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius reported that despite the decision not to change the power supply and consumption configuation, the supply of power to industrial enterprises dropped by 75 percent last Tuesday [7 January].

This decision was made in the absence of Power Engineering Minister Leonas Asdmontas by senior officials at the power engineering system, who exceeded their authority. Due to the power supply reduction, work at many factories was disturbed on 8 January.

The government meeting noted that the reduction of power supplies coincided with the food price increases and the activity of some units of the former Soviet Army.

The government decided to dismiss Saulius Kutas, first deputy minister of power engineering, Anicetas Mikuzis, general director of the Lithuanian Power Engineering System and chief engineer Algirdas Stumbras.

A government commission will evaluate the actions of officials who decided to reduce power supplies. Its conclusions will be submitted to the Lithuanian General Procuracy.